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Underground Nuclear Explosion Conducted 12 Feb

LD1202065089 Moscow TASS in English 0649 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—The Soviet Union conducted an underground nuclear explosion with a yield from 20 to 150 kilotons at a test range near Semipalatinsk at 7:15 (Moscow time) on Sunday.

The test was carried out with the aim of modernizing military hardware.

The radiological situation in the testing area and outside the test range is normal.

80 SS-20 Missile Launchers Destroyed in Ukraine

LD1202201689 Kiev in English to Europe 1900 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] One more batch of missile launchers, a means of delivering SS-20 missiles, was destroyed near Sarny in Rovno region of the Ukraine. Several groups of experts from the United States visited the place and witnessed the liquidation of about 80 aggregate. All work is being conducted in strict abidance by the memorandum, pointed out the experts.

Armed Forces, Arms Cuts Rationale Defended

PM1002154189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev article under the rubric "International Observer's Answer to Reader's Question": "Unity of Will, Unity of Action"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] Senior Lieutenant A. Litvinov writes: "I sincerely approve the course of reducing military confrontation and consolidating security, which is being pursued by our country's leadership, and the unilateral reduction of armed forces, but several questions suggest themselves. There obviously exists a schedule for the withdrawal of our troops from the allies' territory. Is it possible to find out what specific formations and units it is planned to withdraw, and when? And something else—virtually all Warsaw Pact countries are reducing their armies. Would it not be more expedient to withdraw more of our units from the groups of forces without reducing the armies of the GDR, the CSSR, and the other fraternal countries? After all, this would not affect the overall balance."

Yes, Comrade Litvinov, a schedule for the withdrawal [vyvod] of units of Soviet troops from the territory of our Warsaw Pact allies and from the Mongolian People's Republic already exists in general form. But, as I was told at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, work on it has not yet been finally concluded since highly complex and diverse problems keep arising. Furthermore, it is only one component of the general plan for the unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments over the next 2 years, as announced by M.S. Gorbachev.

Nonetheless, it is already definitely known that the reduction and withdrawal of formations and units of Soviet troops from the territory of our Warsaw Pact allies, together with their weapons and combat equipment, will begin in the next 3-4 months. Incidentally, the plans and schedules provide for measures concerning the withdrawal of our troops not only in the west, but also in the east and south of the country—specifically, the region along the Soviet-Chinese border and the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic. When the necessary details are finally decided and worked out, these schedules will be made public in one form or another.

But today it is already possible to provide some details about the withdrawal of our troops from our allies' territory. For example, the withdrawal from Hungary will begin in May 1989. A total of 22 formations and units will depart from there. The full complement (13 units) of a tank division stationed near the city of Veszprem and a training tank regiment will be withdrawn in May-June, and an airborne-assault battalion and a fighter aviation regiment will be withdrawn in the second half of the year. The reductions will apply to 450 tanks, over 200 guns and mortars, and 3,000 units of motor vehicle transport equipment. At the same time, Soviet units now stationed in Szombathely, Mosonmagyarovar, Ferto, and Gyor will be pulled back from the border with Austria.

As regards the GDR, the 25th and 32d Soviet Tank Divisions, two training tank regiments, and eight separate battalions will be withdrawn from its territory in 1989. The 7th and 12th Tank Divisions, an airborne-assault brigade, and other formations and units will return home in 1990.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia will begin this year—an airborne-assault, a combat engineer, and a motor transport battalion, together with a chemical defense battalion, will be withdrawn first.

Taking into account the reduction of armed forces and armaments by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, the numerical strength of allied troops in Europe will be reduced over a 2-year period by a total of 296,300 men, 12,000 tanks, 9,130 artillery systems, and 930 combat aircraft. The numerical strength of Soviet troops in the east and south of the country will be reduced by 200,000 and 60,000 men respectively.

In order to give a complete picture, let me say, in parallel with the reduction, the structure of the USSR Armed Forces will be reconfigured on defensive principles. Some 5,300 modern tanks will be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces abroad. The six tank divisions (about 2,000 tanks) due to be withdrawn from the Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, and the CSSR will be inactivated [rasformirovany], while the formations remaining on the territory of our allies will be reorganized [pereformirovyvayutsya]. Of these, motorized rifle divisions will have up to two-fifths of their tanks withdrawn [izymatsya], while tank divisions will have over one-fifth withdrawn—making a total of 3,300 units—and the divisions will be given a defensive structure. Tactical nuclear systems and airborne-assault and assault-crossing formations and units with their weapons and equipment will be withdrawn [vyvoditsya] from the groups of forces. Consequently, the offensive potential of Soviet troops is being sharply reduced. A defensive structure will also be assumed by our formations and units stationed near the Soviet-Chinese border. The USSR has proposed to the PRC an accord on a number of fundamental military issues, specifically the priority reduction of the armed forces' offensive components, the inactivation [rasformirovaniye] of the units subject to reduction, and the limitation of the number and scale of military exercises.

All this is of major importance for the transition from overarmament to reasonable defense sufficiency. The bold unilateral steps by the Warsaw Pact states create a promising atmosphere for the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe due to begin soon. The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee Statement on the Strength and Correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO Forces in Europe and Adjoining Waters, which presents an overall picture of the correlation of the military potential of the two military-political alliances in the continent, also has a role to play here.

And now to your second question, Comrade Litvinov. First of all, let me remind you: The Soviet Union believes that, in principle, any military presence ought to have its national borders. Proceeding from this premise, at last summer's UN General Assembly third special session on disarmament our country raised the question of eliminating foreign military bases and withdrawing troops from foreign territories. It outlined an entire program of action in this area, including the nonbuildup of military presence and military activity outside national borders, nonextension of the terms of base agreements, renunciation of the transfer of troops and arms from eliminated bases to third countries, and other measures. Due to the obstructionist U.S. stance, this proposal failed to gain support at the time. But the Soviet Union has not given up its idea, which was generated by the new political thinking. Nevertheless, it is forced to bear in mind that a military presence will remain in various countries for as long as military blocs exist. This is why the question of the complete withdrawal of our troops abroad has not yet been raised in practical terms.

Our country also has to bear in mind that it occupies a special position in the world community and that international peace and security depend on it to a large extent. Nevertheless, it is impossible to find a solution to the most acute problems facing mankind without the other countries, large or small. All the Warsaw Pact countries must, and want to, make their contribution to the creation of lasting peace based on mutual trust and cooperation. And this is what they are doing by exercising their sovereign rights. Their decisions to reduce armed forces, armaments, and military expenditure offer tangible proof of this. Furthermore, if we were to take the path suggested by you, this would mean dooming our allies to maintain military confrontation in a different form. In addition, the economic benefits from just our own reduction of armed forces and withdrawal of troops would accrue only to us, while our allies would be forced to bear proportionally greater expenditures than at present.

The unity of our common political will is backed by unity of actions. And this is how it must be.

NATO Reaction to Warsaw Pact Cuts Reviewed

LD1002172189 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

There is a very strange reaction of the top echelons of the North Atlantic bloc to the practical measures of the Soviet Union and its allies consonant with the concept of reasonable sufficiency for defence.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the organ of big business of the USA, complains that the Soviet Union's peace drive cuts the ground from under the feet of the Western alliance. It notes that NATO finds it difficult to get adjusted to the realities of Gorbachev's epoch and that Western governments find it ever more difficult to justify the appropriation of large sums for military equipment at a time when there is talk mainly about peace. NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner sees the main task of the alliance in justifying its continued military effort now that the public holds that powerful defence is needed no longer.

So-called competitive strategies were adopted in Washington quite recently. Their chief purpose is to channel the arms race in the directions advantageous for the Pentagon and then to face the Soviet Union with the alternative of either giving up the effort for putting an end to the arms race or else to tolerate the United States military supremacy. In accordance with this strategy such weapon systems are now being rapidly introduced in the USA as would require the Soviet Union to expand much more time and funds than in the USA. What is meant is the creation of Stealth planes, deployment of sea-launched and air-launched cruise missiles and development of space strike arms.

Concerned over the disintegration of the myth about the "Soviet military menace" on which the military concepts of a "limited nuclear war," "flexible reacting" and other, no less dangerous theories were based over decades. NATO strategists make attempts to call in question the purposes for which the Warsaw Treaty Organisation adopted the new defensive doctrine.

Thus British military theorist Christopher Donnelly wrote in his book "Red Banner. The Soviet Military System in Peace and War" that the Soviet General Staff, allegedly, deems it necessary to have the potential for destroying the enemy on its own territory. "This can only be done by an offensive, and an offensive, moreover, which can be concluded quickly, and without escalation to a strategic nuclear exchange," Donnelly writes. He ascribes to the Soviet Union the concept of the possibility of winning such a war. Contradicting this conclusion, the British theorist declares that the USSR is preparing also for a prolonged nuclear war and draws truly terrifying conclusions from this.

NATO political scientists apparently regard the Soviet Union's peace drive as the main threat to the alliance's military programs. This is why they do not exert themselves to look for if somewhat plausible arguments for substantiating the assertion about the "military menace from the East."

The new defensive doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty countries, their unilateral measures for the reduction of their armed forces attest to the unshakable determination of the socialist community to fulfill the task which is of importance for entire humanity—that of preventing war and protecting socialism. They base their course at reasonable sufficiency for defence on realism and the balancing of interests of all countries without exception.

A turn of socialist countries from military means of ensuring security to non-military, political methods opens new prospects for the development of international relations toward a peaceful period. The realities of this century require that all countries, above all members of the North Atlantic alliance, join vigorously in the process.

NATO Nuclear Modernization Program Criticized

LD1102095789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Acording to a report in the British authoritative weekly JANE's DEFENCE WEEKLY, NATO is studying a report by General Galvin, supreme allied commander Europe. In this document he puts forward two proposals: to carry out a reduction in battlefield nuclear weapons belonging to NATO, and on the other hand to achieve their modernization. Here is a "Mayak" commentary with journalist Aleksandr Korshunov at the microphone.

[Korshunov] By all accounts, great importance is attached to General Galvin's report. Recommendations contained in it will be analyzed by the ambassadors of NATO countries in the coming weeks. In addition, the document will be the center of attention at the debates of the nuclear planning group in April. And finally, at the NATO summit to be held in London or Brussels, the heads of Western states and governments will make their final decision on the report.

General Galvin has put forward a proposal on reducing the number of battlefield nuclear systems belonging to NATO in the next few years down to 4,600 units. But at the same time these weapons will be radically modernized. So NATO's total strength will increase. What is involved here is making use of nuclear warheads for atomic artillery, a new tactical missile system, and missiles of the "SRAAM-2" air-to-ground class. Air-launched missiles will become the main types of weapons to arm F-15E and F-111 aircraft. They are the ones that are planned for deployment in Europe, supposedly in the British Isles and West Germany. But it is not so simple for NATO to do all this and carry out modernization in the present political situation.

As the British weekly JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY admits, this circumstance is connected with the very great popularity of the Soviet unilateral disarmament initiatives. The public and many politicians in the Western camp are expecting, with very good reason, a constructive response from NATO. But it very much seems that the leadership of this alliance does not really want very much to abandon the principle of nuclear deterrence which is at the root of NATO's military and political doctrines.

After all, if they do not opt for modernization but move along the path suggested by the USSR, sooner or later it will be necessary to eliminate nuclear armaments and in the long run to give up the military concepts built on them. Probably there is no undivided opinion in NATO on this subject. For it is only the United States, Britain, and the actual supreme leadership of the bloc that unconditionally support arms modernisation and upgrading.

As for the other NATO states, their positions diverge on many issues. Contradictory views are expressed in political circles in West Germany. It is believed in the Netherlands, for example, that atomic artillery should be abandoned. Turkey hesitates about the desirability of the modernization of battlefield nuclear weapons, while Greece, Spain, Denmark, and Norway bank on a non-nuclear policy. These are the conditions in which the apparently contradictory report by Galvin—but only apparently—has appeared. If it materializes in the form submitted, and if the ideas of the report become a guide for action, the arms race will, in effect, continue.

However, let us not run ahead of events, but wait for the upcoming debates. And as forecast, they will be stormy and very complex.

Bundeswehr Plans for KOLAS Missiles Viewed

LD1102154789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] FRG television has made public the Bundeswehr's plans to start production of its own new missile system. Here is a report by Aleksandr Pozharskiy, our Bonn correspondent:

[Pozharskiy] The development of this system was due to be completed this spring. The guided missile with a range of about 500 km and fitted with a special warhead for the destruction of concrete installations is intended, in the event of a military conflict, to destroy enemy military airfields right at the start of the conflict.

Is it able to carry a nuclear warhead? This question was asked of a Defense Ministry spokesman. He replied by saying: In order to equip a missile with a nuclear warhead, it must meet special technical requirements, about which the FRG has no information. It seems to me that this reply can scarecely be considered as a firm and unambiguous denial of this possibility.

Many details may be cited about the destructive characteristics of the KOLAS missile, but the main thing is that it is a new offensive missile system and it goes beyond the agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

The Bundeswehr's plans to create this missile have evoked a sharp protest by the public, the antiwar movement, and politicians. After the Bundeswehr's intention ran up against this energetic protest, the FRG Government announced that the plans would be shelved until the end of the Vienna talks on conventional armaments which begin in March. The fate of this new class of missile weapon will depend on the outcome of the talks. This decision by the government and the fact that it is not abandoning plans to build up its armaments, as is demanded by the present political situation, naturally gives rise to the question: What is this? Is it the intention to come to the Vienna talks with a potential weapon up one's sleeve in order to attempt to put pressure on the USSR and its allies? If this intention exists, one can only say that it is an absurd and hopeless one.

Bovin Considers Questions on Afghan Involvement

LD1202185589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1457 GMT 12 Feb 89

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] What will happen in Afghanistan? Well, in general, of course, I think there will be a different Afghanistan, but just what kind of Afghanistan must be decided by the Afghans themselves. The main thing now is, I think, to do everything possible to avoid bloodshed and a continuation of the fratricidal war. As for us, if we want to look seriously at ourselves and our history, our country and our future, we must draw lessons from the Afghanistan decade. However, to do this, facts are needed, knowledge of the facts is needed: How did this war start, the most protracted war in the history of the Soviet Union? On the basis of what and on whose information was the decision to take in the troops made? How was it discussed? How was it made and debated? What views were voiced? How did it come about that in spite of our desire and intentions we became more and more involved in Afghanistan?

There was the following point, not without importance: The warring side usually prefers to report not its own losses but those of the opponent. However, we did not know for a long time, either, and finally we do know how many we have lost. It would of course be interesting, however, to know how many Afghans were lost, killed, since only then can the scale of the war be truly assessed. None of these are idle questions. It is not a matter of curiosity.

We are learning about democracy and are learning to consciosuly approach what is happening to us and around us, that is, with awareness of what is happening. We are learning to feel that we are the masters of our home and country and for this reason I am convinced that it is not only the political but also the moral duty of our leadership to publish and submit all the necessary documents to the people's judgment. These, however, are just papers and they will not say everything. People must talk and I am sure that, for example, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, could help us elucidate the situation. Our comrades in the military could do so, Marshals Sokolov and Akhromeyev for example. In general, we all have a right to the truth about Afghanistan and this is all the more so for those marked by the war.

The next step, of course, is to analyze and research the facts. Not a departmental analysis, but a scientific and objective analysis must be conducted not by functionaries but by scientists. I would like to suggest another notion to you. We need to come back to the lessons of Afghanistan and study these lessons against the background, against a broad historical background and, in particular, perhaps we should come back to an interpretation of our political actions in 1956 and 1968. There is in Hungary at the moment, for example, an upsurge in such debates. Comrade Imre Pozsgay, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo, with recourse to information from a subcommission of the Hungarian Central Committee on historical issues, recently described the events of 1956 in Hungary as a popular revolution, one that was accompanied by certain excesses and sorties by reactionaries and counterrevolutionaries. But, far from everyone things like that. Recently, for example, the MAGYAR HIRLAP newspaper published a statement from one of Budapest's primary party organizations and I quote: "To see as a popular rising the mass destruction of communists and nonparty members, the events that took place near the Budapest city party committee building, the raging White Terror, the arbitrary declaration of neutrality, the appeal to the UN regarding intervention, connivance with counterrevolutionary parties, and the rejection of the bases of socialism, is not only an antihistorical step but also a cynical challenge to those who did everything to avert a mass sacrifice, to block the path of the counterrevolution and to find ways for a further advance, drawing lessons from the past." You can see what a range of assessments there is. The all-Hungarian public opinion institute conducted a survey in Budapest with the following figures: 52 percent of those polled regard the event of 1956 as a counterrevolution and 48 percent as a revolution. You see, how many years have passed already, but the past continues to live in the present. There is something for us to think about here as well.

'Roundtable' on PRC Visit, Afghanistan, U.S.

LD1202184889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 12 Feb 89

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Igor Charikov, All-Union Radio commentator; Nikolay Shishlin, a journalist who writes on international affairs; and Valentin Zorin, USSR state television and radio political observer]

[Text] [Announcer] We now present the program "International Observers at the Roundtable." It is moderated by Igor Pavlovich Charikov, All-Union radio commentator.

[Charikov] Hello, esteemed comrades! Taking part in our program today are Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, a journalist who writes on international affairs, and Valentin Sergeyevich Zorin, USSR state television and radio political observer. I would like to suggest, esteemed colleagues, that in our discussion today we deal with just three topics—of course, there are more but I would suggest that we deal with just three subjects—the results of the visit to the PRC by Comrade Shevardnadze, our foreign minister, and the prospects for the development of relations between our countries in light of that trip; then the situation in Afghanistan, in connection with the date of 15 February which is drawing near, that is to say the date for the final withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from that country; and—if we can put it this way—the first steps of the new U.S. Administration: what have they shown, what prospects have they revealed, what can we expect from President Bush and from the United States in general in the very near future? Nikolay Vladimirovich, please go ahead.

[Shishlin] Thank you. Igor Pavlovich, I do not think we are going to confine the topics of today's discussion in that way. Concentrating, indeed, on those issues, nevertheless it is useful no doubt to cast a glance over what has taken place since the start of the new year. It seems to me that the beginning of 1989 has turned out well where international affairs are concerned. This beginning has been a very full one: This is reflected in the calendar of political summits that have been mapped out by Moscow; it is indicated by the work that has already been done during January and the first weeks of February. No doubt here, of course, the number one event was the visit to China by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze.

We have long been witnesses—for a comparatively long time, at least—we have witnessed the process of improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations and it has to be said that they have indeed moved forward a long way. Now, as a result of the visit to the PRC by the Soviet foreign minister, we are on the threshold of the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. This is, of course, a major achievement in our bilateral relations—Soviet-Chinese relations as such—and this is undoubtedly going to have enormous significance in the regional context from the point of view of the work that has to be done to strengthen peace, security, and cooperation in the Asian and Pacific region. There is a third aspect to this problem as well: the broad international aspect. The improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations and the complete normalization of these relations will certainly be a beneficial factor for improving the world political atmosphere as such. The special feature about the visit, the special feature about the process of improving Soviet-Chinese relations itself, is linked to the fact that no one loses as a result of the improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations. We win, China wins, regional security wins, and international security as such wins.

[Zorin] I would like to come in, too, with a few observations on what we are talking about. Of course, even now it is possible to say that the Soviet-Chinese summit will not only be the event of the year but perhaps the event of the decade too. In our mailbag, however, we do find letters which I would like to mention, or more precisely, to answer. The writers of some letters ask: Is it possible to count on relations between our countries returning to what they were 30 and more years ago following the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich with the Chinese leaders and as a result of the current process? I think that we can only say "no we cannot" in reply to that question. What we are talking about is a radical improvement in relations; what we are talking about is the normalization not just of interstate relations but of interparty relations—that is very real. But all of this is taking place in a totally different atmosphere. The Soviet Union is absolutely different today. China is absolutely different today. The situation in the world today is absolutely different. It is neither possible nor necessary, therefore, to reconstruct what was taking place then. I think, therefore, that the reply to this question which is asked must be a realistic one. The aim that the comrades are talking about is not being set: What we are talking about is the very important process of normalizing relations and establishing good relations both between peoples and between countries, which, as you rightly said, Nikolay Vladimirovich, will be reflected in the most serious way possible on the whole international situation.

[Shishlin] Let me add, literally, a couple of words: It seems to me that the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, which is already taking place now, is further evidence of the practical nature of the policy founded on the new political thinking, a policy free of egoistical interests, a policy aimed at a search for a balance of interests, a policy which takes into account on an equal basis our own national interests and the national interests of the country with which we want to cooperate. It is precisely on this base that we have reached a fairly high level today where economic links with China are concerned.

We have reached a fairly high level where scientific ties are concerned. At this moment, in fact, over the next few days or so, a very important new agreement will be signed involving the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Soviet Academy of Sciences. We now have good strong contacts where cultural cooperation is concerned, and what is particularly meaningful is the fact that today we are looking closely at the Chinese experience with modernization and doing so with enormous interest, if only because Chinese modernization and Soviet restructuring do not of course have any common denominator but they do have many things in common with each other. The fact that the Chinese implemented their modernization policy earlier than the Soviet Union enables us to study Chinese experience with all its pluses and minuses particularly closely, because there are serious problems and serious difficulties in China besides the achievements; there is a certain overheating of the Chinese economy. In our country, perhaps, it has had a tendency to freeze somewhat. The overheating of the Chinese economy is worrying the Chinese leaders. In other words, we can study each other's experience in a really fruitful way; we can master the social problems and the economic problems which crop up in the life of the Soviet or the Chinese people and we can do so in a real and fruitful way.

[Charikov] The visit to China by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze was certainly the most important event of the beginning of 1989, but I would like to add that the trip also took in Islamabad. En route for Moscow, Eduard Shevardnadze also visited the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

[Shishlin] That, too, was a very important trip.

[Charikov] Yes, it was a very important trip, and in some way it shed additional light on the Pakistani side's intentions with regard to the situation in Afghanistan. Eduard Amvrosiyevich met Yaqub Khan there; he also met the president and other Pakistani leaders. As far as we know, based on the Soviet-Pakistani statements, Pakistan is willing to promote and to assist a political settlement in Afghanistan. The time for this is now getting near, when all the sides that have an interest in the settlement of this conflict have to begin to act energetically.

[Zorin] You know, Igor Pavlovich, I do not think we should rush to overestimate the positive elements in Islamabad's policy toward Afghanistan. Of course, Benazir Bhutto is not General Ziaul Haq, but let me give my own personal point of view. I, for example, as one who deals with international affairs, feel a certain disappointment over the very little progress that has been made in Islamabad's policy wth regard to Afghanistan. There are various explanations for this. For example, there is the the theory that the Afghan problem is not under the control of the prime minister, that it is not under the control of the government, but that by agreement between Benazir Bhutto and the military it remains the prerogative of the military, and in particular the military intelligence service which does not allow the government—I do not know whether or not that is the case, we do not have sufficient facts....

[Charikov, interrupting] But that theory does exist; I have heard it.

[Zorin] Yes, but the fact is that Pakistan is not playing the kind of role it was to have played in accordance with the Geneva agreements, in accordance with its own long-term national interests; it seems to me that that is a fact.

[Shishlin] It seems to me that a certain caution in assessing the political position of today's Pakistan is quite appropriate and justified, although this does not cast any shadow over the results of the intensive talks which were held with Islamabad during the visit by Eduard Amvrosiyevich and during the preceding contacts and talks which were at a fairly high level, in particular at the level of the Soviet deputy foreign minister.

In fact, however, at the root of this problem an event of cardinal importance is taking place before our eyes: the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. That is the main thing. In the present case we are of course thinking of our compatriots who have been carrying out their internationalist duty in that country; they have been carrying it out with honor, and they are now coming home. We are thinking about those who will not come home; we are thinking of what awaits Afghanistan tomorrow, what awaits the whole Afghan situation tomorrow. I will tell you that it is not easy to answer that question because there are forces of very different kinds on the Afghan political scene.

First and foremost, of course, there is the government, the government forces. These are the PDPA, the legal authorities of Pakistan [as heard], a real political force. That real political force is carrying out a totally open course toward national reconciliation and the doors for a national reconciliation policy have been thrown wide open by Kabul. But who is going to go through these doors? We do not know. Another political force is the seven-party alliance, which, as we know, is based in Peshawar, that is to say on Pakistani territory. This Peshawar Seven group is in fact described as the irreconcilable armed opposition. There is also the eight-party alliance, which is based in Iran. Well, this is a less impressive group, but it too can in general be regarded as being part of the irreconcilable opposition. Autonomous—let us use that term—armed detachments which represent different ethnic groups and which also claim authority in the country are also operating on Pakistan's [as heard] territory.

[Zorin] The commanders of these very often simply ignore both advice and instructions and the positions of both the seven-party and eight-party alliances and implement their own line.

[Shishlin] Yes, and furthermore, these groups keep themselves independent, both from the Iranian eight and the Peshawar Seven and also from Kabul—independent. That is to say that various forces are operating on the political stage with interests that are not identical. It is here that the question arises: What lies in wait for Afghanistan tomorrow? An even more intense civil war? Or the gradual assertion of the line toward national reconciliation and an approach toward this line by the most diverse forces, including those that are hostile toward each other. That, as you know, is how the so-called shura is currently taking place, I am not sure of my pronunciation, but this is a kind of consultative council in which are represented....[Shishlin changes thought] Well, we must ask, who is represented? The Peshawar Seven are represented; the Iranian eight are represented. Those independent detachments which are operating on Afghanistan's territory are particularly represented. But as far as the truly governmental forces are concerned, the forces representing the PDPA, they are not present at this shura and are not taking part. I do not see any harmonious settlement of today's glaring problems in Afghanistan outside a dialogue. I think, therefore, that the Afghan drama, the Afghan tragedy, of itself places a very high level of responsibility on all participants in that drama. Here we cannot fail to mention the positions of the external forces. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, I would put it this way: Yes, Soviet troops are leaving Afghanistan, but we are not abandoning Afghanistan; we are not deserting our neighbor. As far as political, economic, and moral support are concerned, all political, moral, and economic support will be given to Afghanistan in order to ensure that peace triumphs on the land and to ensure that the interests of the Afghan people are respected and serve the interests of the Afghan people in a real way.

But take the other external forces: Valentin Sergeyevich quite properly expressed all kinds of doubts about the current position of the Pakistani Government, although the hope does exist and is being maintained that Pakistan is capable of approaching an Afghan settlement in a more constructive way. It seems as though in Iran they are now showing understanding of the trends that have preavailed in the developments of the whole Afghan situation. But what about the United States? The United States has thrown so much fuel onto this Afghan bonfire—and, I fear, they are continuing to throw it on now—that we can in no way describe the U.S. role in the entire process of a political settlement of the Afghan problem as a constructive one. What is taking place, therefore, is very complex political and diplomatic work; a struggle is taking place, if you like, for Afghanistan's future.

One thing, however, is beyond doubt. The decision—the bold and courageous decision which was made by the Soviet leadership with regard to the withdrawal of the Soviet troops—that decision is irreproachable from the viewpoint of the interests of the Soviet Union, the interests of cooperation in this very important region of the world, and the interests of radically improving the international atmosphere as such. Furthermore, this decision too, is an example of the attitude we should have toward world public opinion, the attitude we should have toward the wishes of the international public and how we must make a precise assessment of the interests both of ourselves and those of our neighbors, be they near or far.

[Zorin] I would like to say another couple of words about the U.S. position. Not so long ago I was in Washington. I had meetings with a number of figures and well-informed journalists, and I formed the impression, you know, that there does exist a fairly influential group of Washington figures who make out that they welcome the departure of the Soviet soldiers from Afghanistan, but who are put out and dismayed by this in a way that they almost fail to conceal. They are losing a very powerful trump card which they have used as a brake over the past few years both for the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations and for overall detente in the world political arena. It was a trumpcard which was played and played again, and then suddenly they lose it and they have not yet found anything else to take its place. Talk about Soviet assistance to revolutionary movements in Latin America is not yet having a sufficient effect, but the real thing that they were using is disappearing.

But there is another side to this process. Look how the government is keeping quiet for the present. But, some very influential business circles have started to stir and their position is like this: We imposed sanctions on trade with the Soviet Union after it sent its troops into Afghanistan. The Soviet Union has taken its troops out. Therefore, it is time to lift these sanctions and expand trade. These are not simply individual statements: Such a position has been taken by some very influential U.S. business organizations, so influential that I, personally, am convinced that after the assessment of the situation which is being talked about by the leaders of the new administration they will have to take it into account.

There is one more detail to which I would like to draw our listeners' attention: the mass exodus of Western diplomats from Kabul these days. The U.S. Embassy has been boarded up. Everyone, including the courageous Marines who have been protecting the building, has left. The question that arises here is this: Of what are they afraid? Of whom are they afraid? For they are the ones who have been supplying arms all these years to the very people from whom they are now running. The billions that they have spent is therefore still no guarantee in their view. They do not trust the people on whom they have placed their stake, and I believe that while the first part—the exodus—is something we can approach with a certain amount of irony, if we are going to talk seriously, if we are going to see the serious side of this, then it is a very indicative factor with far-reaching significance. Aid to the mujahidin, aid to the antigovernment forces, which has cost the United States billions of dollars, is no guarantee that the United States will have firm positions in Afghanistan, and indications of the political assessment which is being made in Washington today can be seen in this.

[Charikov] An interesting thought, Valentin Sergeyevich. I would like to get back to the position of those business circles who—as you have just said—are raising the issue of the time having now come—with the Soviet troops leaving Afghanistan—to take down the barriers that were erected at the beginning of the 1980's as a result of the Soviet Union's sending in the limited contingent of troops.

Generally, this position is, on the one hand, sensible. It is practical and pragmatic, I would say. On the other hand, frankly speaking, you know, it smacks of some sort of, let us say, political opportunism. If they, indeed, aspire so much to develop trade with the USSR, to restore it at least to the previous level, then why have not they shown this level of activity before now? After all, there have been many opportunities and many other occasions.

[Shishlin] Well, may I intervene in your discussion? It seems to me that perhaps the history of the whole problem is at present not worthy of an especially through examination for the simple reason that history here is not confined to Washington's actions or, say, Moscow's actions. There is also a very serious economic implication here: What is to be traded, what is to be bought, what is to be supplied? Regrettably, our trade with the United States today under conditions of the unilateral restrictions imposed by the United States on this trade, is simply unhealthy. Americans are now posing this question more broadly. I have no doubt that they will solve this problem. They wish to repeal the Jackson-Vanik amendment and this will take place. Proposals are already being put forward to apply the brake on its operation, say, for a certain time period. Some name 2 years, others 5, but if this amendment is repealed, the USSR will receive most favored nation status.

[Charikov] Excuse me, Nikolay Vladimirovich, it is not just the Jackson-Vanik amendment. Our partners in the United States and Western Europe insist that the Cocom rules should be softened.

[Shishlin] Yes, yes, yes, yes.

[Charikov] So, the question is posed even more broadly.

[Shishlin] Here not only U.S., but also Soviet businessmen will have to think what to supply to the U.S. market. All right, at present we deliver Belaz vehicles worth several million dollars.

[Zorin] But this is in my view a particular case which has been somewhat blown up by our press.

[Shishlin] Maybe. Maybe. In this respect, I think, we cannot bank on any bold breakthroughs in Soviet-U.S. economic links. For this, it is first and foremost necessary to do some work inside our own country—solidly, energetically, actively, and with inspiration. But the actual trend toward improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, even taking into account the reservations which we will probably have to make—this trend in itself is remaining: Bush's message and his latest speech show this. The actions of the current U.S. Administration show this, although I can see, just as undoubtedly you and Valentin Sergeyevich see, that bows to those on the right are being made regularly.

[Zorin] Yes, when you think about the actions of the administration in the weeks that have elapsed, we can see, if we take domestic politics, quite great unity, which amounts to the fact that both the President and Congress agree on the main domestic problem being the budget deficit, state debt, and the potential threat to the country's economic stability. This was discussed by President Bush very seriously, in great detail, and, I would say, with great concern in his first speech to Congress. It seems to me that this became the main idea of his speech. But if you take foreign politics, then there are contradictory signals here, I agree with you, Nikolay Vladimirovich. On the one hand, there is the President's speech.

On the other hand, the vice president, who is known as a hawk, though he is not held in particular esteem....

[Charikov] A young hawk at that.

[Zorin] Indeed. [He] has allowed himself to make statements which I would say go beyond the bounds of decency about Soviet policy and he has not even stopped short of personal attacks on the leadership. Or take the proclamations of General Brent Scowcroft, a very influential person and very experienced, perhaps the most experienced in the current administration in foreign policy, who is the President's national security adviser. Incidentally, this is the second time he has held this post; the first time he was an adviser to President Ford. We know Scowcroft well. He has been in Moscow many times, has had meetings with Soviet scientists, and we have met him at various symposiums in the United States. He is, in general, an intelligent person, a competent person. But here we have that person, before he even has time to enter the White House, making statements that the cold war is not over and the cold war is continuing, speaking, I think, so much in dissonance with the general mood, that having felt the attitude toward such speeches, President Bush considered it necessary to distance himself from such proclamations at a press conference.

[Charikov] Valentin Sergeyevich, perhaps the momentum of the election campaign is still operating, when bows to the right were winners. Could that be so?

[Zorin] Perhaps so, but perhaps it is also personal considerations. Scowcroft had many contacts with Soviet representatives and Soviet specialists while he was in retirement. Maybe he now wants to prove to certain circles his political innocence in this respect. Who can tell? But it is for the time being a matter of proclamations. I think that Washington's rhetoric—if you are to proceed from our experience—is precisely that. We must wait awhile and not look at what they say but at what they do.

We are now on the verge of definite foreign policy actions. There are plans for several foreign visits in the immediate future by President Bush. He ought to be in Canada but he has decided to attend the funeral of the emperor. I personally doubt that a naval pilot who fought in World War II against the Japanese and who was shot down by Japanese antiaircarft guns and was nearly killed can have very tender feelings toward the emperor who was connected with those events. I think that it is a political move both in connection with the importance of U.S.-Japanese relations, and a big role is evidently played by a desire to visit China right now, maybe a bit earlier than Gorbachev. I do not presume to assert that, but I do not exclude it. There is to be a visit in the days to come by James Baker, the new secretary of state, around Europe. I think that after these trips we will be able to judge things here in our roundtable discussions not only by proclamations but also by actions.

[Charikov] Yes, it will end in exactly a week.

[Zorin] Yes. But I want to say in this connection that some kind of pause is needed, of course, by the United States for the new administration to assess some things. Of course, time will pass. But there is one circumstance from which we cannot get away. The Bush administration is acting in certain objective circumstances, in a certain objective situation. For instance, the Warsaw Treaty document called "Warsaw Treaty-NATO: The Correlation of Forces in Europe," has made an immense impression on the whole world. The Soviet initiatives are continuing to work. No matter how the new Washington figures prepare and review the situation, I think objective factors rather than subjective factors will be the determinant, the ones which are forming the current political atmosphere and the current political climate in the world.

[Charikov] Thank you, esteemed colleagues, for participating in this program. We thank you, dear listeners, for your attention. Good-bye. All the best.

5th 'Vienna Dialogue' on Disarmament Set for April

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[Text] Vienna February 13 TASS—The fifth "Vienna dialogue" on problems of disarmament, a relaxation of international tension and a durable peace is to be held in Vienna between April 8-12. A preparatory meeting was held here on Saturday and Sunday under the chairmanship of World Peace Council President Romesh Chandra.

The "Vienna dialogue", a representative forum of peace activists of various political trends, will be attended by about 200 delegates, among them prominent politicians, public figures, parliamentarians, trade union and church representatives.

They will discuss security and cooperation in Europe, including reductions of conventional troops and armaments and measures of security in the military sphere, problems of economic cooperation, general environmental protection efforts and other questions.

The last forum was held in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1987.

1962 Cuban Missile Crisis Reviewed, Analyzed

LD11022254899

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1515 GMT on 11 February carries within its "International Program" a 40-minute roundtable discussion on the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. The program opens with archive footage from the time of the Cuban missile crisis and then quotes greetings from Gorbachev and Bush to participants in the recent symposium on the Caribbean crisis of 1962. The footage which follows traces the chronology of events beginning in October 1961 when Kennedy ordered the joint chiefs of staff to prepare a plan for an invasion of Cuba and ending with the withdrawal of Soviet missiles and the lifting of the U.S. blockade in light of the talks in October 1962 between U.S. and Soviet representatives.

Under the caption "Lessons of the Carribean Crisis," the camera returns to the studio and the participants in the discussion named as Robert McNamara, secretary of defense during the Kennedy administration; Theodore Sorensen, ex-special counsel to the President; McGeorge Bundy, assistant to the President for national security affairs; Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee; Sergio del Valle, a general; Dmitriy Antonovich Volkogonov, colonel general and doctor of philosophical sciences; Sergey Nikitich Khrushchev, a doctor of technical sciences; and Fedor Mikhailovich Burlatskiy, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA political observer and program moderator.

Burlatskiy's first question is addressed to Bundy, inquiring how Kennedy and his administration felt on learning that Soviet missiles had been installed in Cuba. The answer is that it was a "shock" and his personal explanation of Khrushchev's motives is that the Soviet Union and Cuba did expect an invasion, while the shock to the United States came from the fact that it was not preparing one. This is in part confirmed by Jorge Risquet, who says that Cuba saw events at the Bay of Pigs, exclusion from the OAS, and the U.S. blockade as a "dress rehearsal" for invasion and that missiles were thus installed "for two reasons: first, to restore the balance that had been disturbed in strategic nuclear forces between the United States and the socialist community and second, to defend Cuba." Volkogonov's assessment is as follows: "I would have said that with this step Khrushchev and the political and military leadership managed for a short time to put the United States in a position we had been in for a long time and practically grown used to—effectively within the sights, if you can put it like that, of nuclear missiles. For them it came as a shock, as my colleague says. I think that the crucial decision that was made on 10 June at a session of the Presidium of the CPSU Central Committee on deploying a certain number of troops in Cuba pursued a dual objective: on the one hand, to provide direct aid to Cuba in defending Cuba itself and on the other, mindful of the fact that the United States had a vast superiority—there was not then any talk of parity...."

At this point Burlatskiy interrupts to say "17 warheads to 1" and Volkonogov goes on: "...17 to 1, 15 to 1 etc. This siting on their doorstep of nuclear missiles did to a certain extent considerably advance the Soviet Union's potential. However, I would like to stress immediately that right from the beginning and in the decision of our military leadership, the siting of missiles was to obtain a nonoffensive objective. As I already said at our symposium, this is attested by the fact that even at the most tense moment in the dramatic week of the 22d to the 27th, no order to place our rocket units on the highest level of combat readiness—in particular, the warheads were never attached—was given. That is the evidence, although the United States did give such an order. It thus seems to me that history will ultimately say whether or not this step was justified."

Burlatskiy then asks: "Some say it was a mistake. Some say Khrushchev believed in vain that it was possible to secretly site missiles and our friends [gestures toward the U.S. guests] have ever written that it was an adventure."

Volkogonov says:" Regarding secrecy, from the moral point of view it seems perhaps highly unacceptable, as it were. However, on the other hand, if Kkrushchev had announced in advanced that he was going to send missiles to Cuba, he would not have been able to do it. The operation to deliver troops and missiles took nearly 3 months: July, the beginning of July, August, and September, and the last arrived in October. It was done unseen. The United States first found out that the missiles had been installed on 14 October and were finally convinced of it. Under these conditions, there was no violation of international law. The United States had sited missiles in Turkey, Italy, and elsewhere and no one was asking any questions or thinking much about it."

At this point, Sorensen points out that the secrecy surrounding the operation and the fact that the weapons had normal warheads of an offensive nature naturally made the United States believe there was a potential threat. After all, they only knew that there were missiles in Cuba and they theatened the United States. Krushchev stresses that internationalist duty to help remote Cuba was the reason for installing the missiles and the reduction of a nuclear imbalance a secondary feature.

Invited to speak as one most likely to be best informed about events, McNamara had the following to say: "I'd like to begin to answer your question by saying that all that has been said proves that there were misperceptions on each side of the reality of the situation. Therefore, I suggest that the risk of escalation, of the conflict becoming a military conflict, was a direct result of those misperceptions. The Cubans, and I can perfectly understand why, believed we were preparing to invade Cuba. The Soviet Union also believed we had this intention. Naturally, you believed that in reaction to our pressure it was essential to have recourse to some kind of military measures. The Soviets believed that by siting missiles they could put pressure on us regarding both Cuba and the main tangle of contradictions that had developed around Berlin. However, had we accepted that situation it was quite clear that the risk of such deceptive actions could arise in other regions of the world as well. We could not accept that and so we put what pressure we could on the Soviet Government in order to have the missiles withdrawn.

"As you know, we looked at the issue of an air attack on Cuba by 500 bombers. This was hampered by missile installations and airports and, incidentally, we didn't know how many Soviet troops were stationed in Cuba. At the time we thought it was 10,000. It turned out to be 40,000. We did know, however, that if we resorted to bombardment in order to destroy the missiles, a land invasion would have to follow this.

"You see, these were dreadful prospects. This was one of the reasons why our President did not want to start an open conflict. He took no specific measures. If we had come out against Cuba, the risk of open military confrontation would inevitably have arisen, and all the more so when our invasion would have entailed the deaths of hundreds, possibly thousands, of Soviet and Cuban citizens. This would have given the Soviet Union moral grounds for attacking in another area—destroying the Jupiter missiles in Turkey for instance, or attacking West Berlin. How would NATO have reacted if they had done this? In other words, who knew at the time what paths increasing escalation would take? I am deeply convinced that the President would not have acted like this nor would the Politburo; ie. under no circumstances, without the existence of a U.S. attack, would it have sanctioned the launching of the missiles sited in Cuba. This was the risk and the danger. There was an entire collection of dangers, and we should be grateful to Khrushchev and Kennedy. It does them honor that they did not permit us to reach the brink of catastrophe."

Del Valle points out that Cuba dealt with the practicalities of installing Soviet missiles before Burlatskiy presents the next question: "I would like to ask you about the episode that played so great a role in the escalation of the crisis, when the U-2 plane was shot down, since there were many versions as to how this happened. Could you tell us about this?"

Del Valle says: "Of course. We had 24 batteries of surface-to-air anti-aircraft missiles. All were on combat alert. They could not be launched against patrol aircraft although the Americans were constantly on patrol above our territory. The 27th brought the culmination of the crisis. Our radar located one of these planes traveling west to east. The commander of the anti-aircraft battery reported: This is the command, and asked for permission to fire. However, he was given instructions to continue observations. He asked for permission (?again) and got no answer. He pressed the firing button. We believe that the soldier who pressed the button....

Burlatskiy interrupts "A Soviet general."

[Del Valle] "Yes it was a Soviet general. We believe he acted correctly. He acted in accordance with regulations since these say, as was explained [word indistinct], that fire may be opened once a target is recognized if no instructions are received at that moment."

Burlatskiy says; "But he didn't coordinate with Moscow, and Moscow had banned such actions. This is one of the episodes, by the way, that demonstrates how events get out of hand."

McNamara confirms that both leaders were aware that an increasingly tense situation was getting out of hand and that "the story of the plane is an illustration of this. I guess for our President and for Khrushchev it came as a shock."

The discussion then moves to resolving the crisis and Risquet here complains that while the results were positive "it would have been possible to reach a far more positive solution had the discussion been on a tripartite basis, if the voice of Cuba had been heard. Small countries have the same rights as large ones."

Burlatskiy now brings the debate to the "Lessons of the Caribbean Crisis" and turns to McNamara first. He sees these as learning what danger lies in misunderstanding the intentions of another country. Cuba's belief that the United States would invade was a vast misperception and "from this comes the main thing: We must learn to put ourselves in the position of the other side and learn to read its thoughts, copy its behavior. That's one lesson. I'll go further. I believe that the main lesson also lies in the following: In the nuclear age, no country can or should permit itself to unleash armed conflicts. Misunderstanding, errors of judgement, and complacency must on no account provide a pretext for unleashing military conflict since the consequences could be suicidal. Everything should be done to avoid crises. If I've understood Gorbachev's new thinking correctly, it lies in the fact that in the nuclear age it is impossible to achieve political objectives by military means."

For Risquet the lesson is greater: "After the elimination of nuclear weapons, conventional weapons will remain and small countries will always fear the aggression of large countries. For this reason it is essential to strengthen international law and the right of every country however small to determine its own fate." Sorensen adds that "the Cuban missile crisis had a sobering and thus a beneficial effect on Kennedy and Khrushchev. It opened our eyes as it were and made us seek alternatives." He goes on to point to numerous positive steps which ensued, including the White House-Kremlin hot line and the ABM Treaty. "Then sadly, Kennedy died and a year later Khrushchev died and our countries lost 25 years.

Pointing out once again how easily escalation of tension occurs, Sorensen comments: "Let's not be wizards in solving crises, let us be wizards in the art of preventing them."

The debate speculates that had Kennedy and Krushchev lived they would have furthered the measures they had already begun.

Volkogonov continues this theme: "I would put it like this: One of the favorite pastimes of historians is to find, develop, and untangle hypotheses about things that didn't happen, didn't take place. In essence, I would call this prophecy turned back upon the past while at the same time I think this prophecy of the past is legitimate and legitimate because there are always many possibilities for development but only one is ever developed. There is always a choice and I think that on leaders, parties, and political forces, a great deal always depends as to how to choose the best and the most direct vector of development.

"The following conclusions beg to be made, albeit philosophical ones. First of all, the Caribbean crisis demonstrated the impotence of strength, I would say. It has always been the case in history that strength walked with wisdom, but strength was always more victorious than wisdom. Finally, for the first time perhaps in a very long time, wisdom defeated strength and a very important political conclusion is prompted by the Caribbean crisis and how we look upon it today lies in the fact that we have always relied on unblocking the reasons for war by means of the military mechanism and the main thing lies in creating a reliable political mechanism. I think that the Caribbean crisis, its significance, lies in the fact that perhaps one of the main sources for forming the new thinking that is being asserted more and more today was born here."

United States & Canada

Further Reaction, Comment on Bush Speech

Shows Lack of 'Fresh Thinking'

PM1002181789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Policy Speech by G. Bush"]

[Text] Washington, 10 Feb—Today the George Bush administration underwent before the country the first important test of its faithfulness to its promises to "create a better America." Officially launching the practical activity of the new incumbents of the Washington federal departments, the 41st U.S. President delivered a policy speech at a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

It follows from Bush's statements that his administration does not intend, on the whole, to radically alter Reagan's approaches, although some emphases in the list of priority tasks will be shifted to a certain extent. Unlike his predecessor, the new President has endeavored, in particular, to place chief emphasis on those government programs which Americans consider to be an indicator of Washington's social compassion. He spoke in rather colorful terms of an "obligation to the needy" and of his belief "in a society free of discrimination or fanaticism of any kind."

A sizable part of the speech was devoted to the tasks of enhancing U.S. technological competitiveness, improving the education system, showing concern for children and elderly Americans, activating the struggle against AIDS, drug addiction, and crime, and protecting the environment more effectively. "America expects, and we must justify its expectations," Bush said.

However, the President was forced to admit that many of his good wishes and intentions have been stymied by the huge federal budget deficit and cannot be implemented until "we have put our financial house in order."

Putting its trust in an improvement in the economic situation, the White House envisages an increase in budget revenues which, so it believes, will make it possible to keep the election promise not to increase taxes and to reduce the deficit from $155.1 billion to $91.1 billion.

For the first time in many years the White House has deliberately decided not to request increased appropriations for the Pentagon, proposing "zero growth" in fiscal 1990, taking inflation into account. This means that the administration's planned ceiling for military spending will stand at approximately $300 billion. One can understand the desire of many Americans to see this step as a "sign of new times." Too high spirits are hardly justified, however. The new President declared absolutely clearly in his speech that his proposal is an interim measure, adopted for just 1 year "in light of the acute need to reduce the deficit." "After this, increases will be required," Bush pointed out. It is also quite impossible to speak of a change in Washington's philosophy of ensuring peace "from a position of strength." The President made it unambiguously clear that it is precisely within the framework of this concept that the National Security Council has, on his orders, begun an examination of U.S. foreign policy questions, the results of which will be reported to the White House in 90 days.

In other words, there is no question of demilitarizing the U.S. economy or foreign policy. Against this background Bush's generally sensible views on "the most important priority—creating a more secure world"—sounded contradictory. Pointing out that tremendous changes are occurring in the USSR, he said: "Caution and common sense require us to try to fully understand the significance of the changes taking place there. But I personally have assured General Secretary Gorbachev that on the completion of this analysis, we will be ready to move forward. We will not miss the least opportunity to work for peace."

Bush's policy speech shows that the agenda he has offered America still clearly lacks fresh thinking and the desire to take original approaches toward central problems of domestic and international life.

Military Spending Freeze Highlighted

LD1002203389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Studio discussion between announcer Fadeyev and commentator Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Excerpts] [Fadeyev] In continuing the account of events abroad I want to dwell in particular on the speech by U.S. President Bush in the U.S. Congress. [passage omitted] New initiatives and priorities were given in Bush's speech, and let us try to analyze them. My colleague, commentator Andrey Ptashnikov, will help me do this.

[Ptashnikov] [Passage omitted on past budgets] Bush has proposed that military spending for the next fiscal year remain at this year's level, that is it should be frozen, with an adjustment for the rate of inflation. I will remind you that the former president was planning to increase allocations for the Pentagon by 2 percent, raising them to almost $303 billion.

[Fadeyev] How do you evaluate this step by Bush? What is it—a manifestation of the new political thinking, a desire to limit the arms race, or simply the latest attempt to reduce the huge deficit in the federal budget? This is precisely one of the chief goals that the new administration is setting itself, as former ones have done.

[Ptashnikov] I think Bush's decision to freeze military spending is connected primarily with the budget deficit problem. In his speech he stated bluntly that in subsequent years he would be insisting on a real increase in arms spending so that the United States—to use the words of Bush himself—should continue to remain strong. At the same time, he stressed, and I quote the President again, great changes are occurring in the world, and the time of great hopes has arrived.

[Fadeyev] As far as I know, in connection with this Bush also touched upon the matter of Soviet-U.S. relations?

[Ptashnikov] Yes, he stated the need for full understanding and comprehension of the changes occurring in the Soviet Union. I assured General Secretary Gorbachev, Bush noted, that after the analysis of our policy has been completed, we shall be prepared to make progress and shall not miss the opportunity to work in the name of peace.

[Fadeyev] This is a reassuring statement on the whole, although it once again displays an extremely cautious approach to the future development of relations between our countries. [passage omitted]

Statements Reflect 'Outmoded Views'

OW1202074689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Bogezhin commentary]

[Text] In his speech to a joint session of the U.S. Congress, U.S. President Bush discussed many issues. Please listen to an analysis made by Bogezhin, a commentator of this station, on the new president's foreign policy:

[Bogezhin] In many foreign policy issues, future Soviet-U.S. relations are of special significance. The prospects and development of these relations are of extremely great significance not only to the Soviet Union and the United States, but to the whole world. This is because Soviet-U.S. relations will inevitably affect the international situation.

Bush's speech proves to a certain extent his conscientious and responsible attitude toward this matter. He particularly pointed out the importance of the changes going on in the Soviet Union and said that it is necessary to fully understand them.

The President said: I have already told General Secretary Gorbachev that after completing the review of our policies, we will be ready to move forward and will not miss any opportunity to work for peace.

His attitude is, of course, understandable. The Soviet side has expressed its willingness to continue to increase dialogue for the purpose of developing Soviet-U.S. relations. In a situation where both sides are ready to abandon longstanding and outmoded viewpoints, the dialogue will be effective.

However, the U.S. President's statement about the conflict between the objectives of the powerful military machine of the Soviet Union and the objectives of the United States reminds people of those outmoded views. From such a view, the U.S. President reached the conclusion that the United States must expand arms. At the same time Bush emphatically pointed out that he is determined to make every effort to pursue the Star Wars program.

It is not necessary for us to pay too much attention to talk about confrontation. Generally speaking, such talk has diminished. However, people in Bush's entourage have recently spoken of confrontation again. Those he has selected to take a direct part in making foreign and military policies have emphatically pointed out the incompatibility of interests between the Soviet Union and the United States and have persistently called for a position of strength toward the Soviet Union.

All this makes us wonder how the new U.S. Administration will develop Soviet-U.S. relations and take advantage of any opportunity to work for peace.

Article Sees Mixed Signals From U.S. Leaders

PM1002164589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "'Don't Shoot the Piano Player.' Washington After the Arrival of the New White House Incumbent"]

[Text] Washington, Feb—After a wave of chic receptions and balls, life in Washington has returned to normal. The homeless have reappeared in Lafayette Park in their customary places, after being expelled for a few weeks on account of the inauguration of the new President, so as not to get in the way and spoil the view.... In short, everyday life has returned.

We will recall that the new President's inauguration speech was comparatively short. He talked about a "new wind" of change, urging it to sweep away greed and indifference toward the sick and the poor. The speech did not contain drumbeats or ostentatious rhetoric, and sounded conciliatory rather than provocative. Bush held out the "hand of cooperation" to the Democrat-controlled Congress and promised to continue the course toward "new closeness" in relations with the USSR.

It would probably be no exaggeration to say that during the first few days of his presidency G. Bush has, as it were, "revealed" himself. According to one of his advisers, "he spent so long not daring to be Bush that he too is somewhat surprised at what he is now discovering in his own personality." There is no doubt about the accuracy of these words: Throughout his 20-year career G. Bush has never "taken chances," remaining loyally in the shadow of the people he served. At noon on 20 January he took the final step toward finally emerging from Ronald Reagan's impressive shadow.

It is now clear that Bush was not simply passing the time in Washington's highest circles, representing the administration at foreign leaders' funerals, sending messages of thanks, and opening all manner of exhibitions and memorials. No, all the time Bush was carefully formulating his own views, opinions, and plans, putting them in cold storage for the time being until "his day" came. Having won the White House, the new President has begun to pull ideas out of this political baggage with a vigor which few people expected of him. Now people have begun to predict—not, I think, without promptings from his entourage—that this active, vigorous style will characterize Bush's entire presidency.

His style is, in fact, already different from Reagan's—at least in its outward manifestations. It is still too early to judge the substance and internal parameters of the promised changes; the new administration is only just spreading its wings and it is quite likely that Bush will, at least at first, speak "the same language" as Reagan, even if his accent is different. It is no coincidence that it is deemed a self-evident truth here that every president who comes to power, whether or not he so desires, stands—figuratively speaking—"on the shoulders" of his predecessor. Given that Bush is not inclined toward "unexpected or radical innovations," his statements ostensibly confirm this.

This formulation of the question is indisputably logical. During his election campaign Bush greatly emphasized that he was "Reagan's heir," promising to continue "peace and prosperity." In voting for him Americans would be voting unequivocally for continuity. That's one side of the coin. The other is the objective alignment of forces on the Washington stage, where the new President can hardly count on success without the cooperation and help of the Democratic opposition. It is probably worth mentioning that the Democrats increased their representation in Congress in November and now have majorities of 10 and 85 over the Republicans in the Senate and House of Representatives, respectively. It is obvious that Reagan's often rigid, confrontational course in relations with Congress will hardly prove effective now, and any "innovations" will require, at a minimum, more coordination and compromise. Although skirmishes can't be avoided, the new President is clearly not in any rush, extending the "hand of cooperation" to the Democrats and speaking of the need for "bipartisan approaches in solving problems."

It must be pointed out that, on the whole, Bush has come to power in an atmosphere of goodwill from the public and Congress. It is not only a matter of his proven flexibility and ability to restructure himself literally in a day—from an irascible, aggressive candidate into a "President of all the people," offering compassion and reconciliation. Americans feel akin to everything human, and it would be unnatural to expect them to wish their new leader ill. The initial period of any presidency is by and large a "honeymoon" with the country, a time of hope, expectation, and optimism. No one can say how long it will last, but this phenomenon is not merely a matter of words. In principle it even has a preset time frame in the U.S. political tradition—the "first 100 days"—which, depending on circumstances, can be extended. For 100 days—this is an unwritten rule—people usually refrain from criticizing the president, giving him the chance to see how the land lies, "find his feet," and formulate an agenda and initiatives. This period passes under the old slogan "Don't shoot the piano player," which arose, incidentally, in the saloons of Texas during "Wild West" times, when trigger-happy cowboys, shooting it out among themselves, tried quite understandably to avoid hitting the piano player.

Be that as it may, the political sky over Bush at this time seems as clear as possible. Of course I am talking about people's attitudes toward him rather than the problems facing the country. In particular, judging by the words of G. Mitchell, leader of the Democrats in the Senate, and Speaker J. Wright, a quite benevolent atmosphere reigns on Capitol Hill at the moment. Bush is lauded for setting the "right tone" and striking the "right note."

I recall that during the election campaign Bush frequently attacked his Democratic rival Michael Dukakis' assertion that the "outcome would be determined not by ideology but by competence." However, the composition of Bush's chosen Cabinet clearly illustrates that the key to the members' nomination was nonetheless their competence. Most of them are part of the traditional Republican "reserve" and enjoy a reputation as skilled and experienced administrators possessing a splendid grasp of the subtleties of the U.S. political system. Almost all of them are well-known and accepted in those "power centers" of America on which the local political climate depends. All, bar three, have lived or worked in Washington for a long time. Seven held high posts in the Reagan administration. Another two were on the White House staff or were Cabinet members in the Nixon and Ford administrations. Four others have spent many years in the U.S. Congress.

Things become more complex when it comes to their political makeup. Descriptions of the members of the new administration often contain such definitions as "moderates," "centrists," and "conservative pragmatists." Some quite inveterate right-wing Republicans originally spoke disapprovingly of the first appointments, regarding them as the "return of the liberal northeast establishment"—that same establishment which at one time incurred such great wrath on the part of Barry Goldwater that he, almost seriously, proposed "sawing off" the Atlantic seaboard of the United States and allowing it to "float at the mercy of the waves." Like Bush himself, many people either come from this region or were educated in its privileged educational establishments. It is more likely, however, that this fact indicates that the new President has selected people who have a spiritual affinity with him and who are capable of ensuring a harmony of opinions within the administration.

Specialists rank Bush as center-right. Despite the conventional nature of this definition, however, it can be admitted that by and large the views of virtually all the members of his Cabinet fall within this framework also. This is even the view of right-wing radicals, who calmed down appreciably following the appointment to leading posts of such people as J. Sununu (the president's chief of staff), J. Kemp (minister of housing and urban development), and W. Bennett (coordinator of federal programs to combat drug addiction). Mention has already been made of D. Quayle, the new U.S. vice president: During his time in the Senate he proved himself a staunch supporter of extreme right-wingers.

Long before Bush's victory in November, virtually all of the journalists covering his campaign predicted that he would be more conservative than the Reagan of the last few years on questions of collaboration with the USSR. They referred to his skepticism regarding our reforms, statements such as "the cold war is not over," and so on. Some people on Capitol Hill shrugged their shoulders—such views smack of confrontation. While apprehensive that "the hand of the past will lie on the tiller," they hoped all the same that the Bush camp, its circumspection and caution notwithstanding, would correct its course in light of the qualitatively new and revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union's policy.

There were grounds for hope, and they still exist. G. Bush's relatively detailed foreign policy statement at the Senate hearings by and large expressed a positive opinion of Soviet-U.S. relations, advocating "building on the progress that has already been made." These words were widely regarded as an indication of the new administration's intention to give a substantive and constructive answer to the USSR's historic initiatives in the immediate future.

The political "reserve" bequeathed by Reagan's White House to the new administration makes it possible to ensure progress in resolving the central problem of the day—disarmament—and in further developing the constructive beginning in Soviet-U.S. relations. I believe that steps in this direction would evoke a favorable response from the public here. Public opinion polls illustrate that most Americans are psychologically ready for an improvement in relations with our country and are impressed by the Soviet leader's broad view of the problems of peace and security. Given that 70-80 percent of Americans polled rated R. Reagan positively for his policy toward the USSR, one would think that the man who replaced him should logically try to transform these sentiments into specific new political steps in the same direction.

Alas, as yet nothing of the kind can be seen. Moreover, some statements heard recently in Washington don't allow us to be optimistic.

It would probably be unjust to accuse the President himself of any anti-Soviet attacks. No, on the contrary—recently he has persistently reiterated his former statements regarding his desire "not to miss opportunities" and "not to delay" in talks with the Soviet Union. But for his immediate entourage, including members of the new administration who will be directly involved in formulating and implementing Washington's foreign and military policy, it is another matter. In a just published interview for TIME magazine U.S. Secretary of State Baker, for instance, put forth the following maxim: "We must acknowledge that the Soviet Union is still a very well-armed country whose interests are hostile to the United States. I don't believe it has abandoned the policy it has pursued over a very long period; this means a testing of the Western alliance, sounding out the ground, and looking for weak spots." A little earlier B. Scowcroft, the president's national security adviser—whose status Bush has just enhanced by placing him at the center of the policy-formulating mechanism—voiced a similar and equally old idea. Scowcroft's interpretation, which he put forward in an interview for ABC, sees the Soviet initiatives as a trick by Moscow aimed at "creating difficulties for the Western alliance."

Although people here have in principle long since gotten used to that kind of interpretation of Soviet peace moves, Vice President D. Quayle's revelations at the recent convention of the religious radio and television preachers association were greeted with obvious perplexity even by U.S. observers. Known more for his knowledge of golf history, Quayle announced without false modesty: "See how different both revolutions were. See how much good entered the world as a result of our revolution and how much evil through their revolution." According to the vice president, this all "occurred because of the hatred of God" in the Soviet Union.

So are we reverting once again to the times of the "evil empire"?

These statements cannot fail to prompt caution, especially now, when it would seem that we should be thinking about how to strengthen and develop the positive elements that have already been achieved in Soviet-U.S. relations recently. Is this the influence of right-wing forces? Or simply variant readings caused by the quest for "one's own style"?

In this connection many people in the U.S. capital point out the paradoxical nature of the current situation. For the first time in many years a U.S. Administration has come to power during a time of a realistic agenda proposed by Moscow. The present White House has the mandate of the American people to respond positively to this agenda; it has, according to the U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, "an unprecedented opportunity to be a partner in creating peace." Missing this historic chance would mean losing a great deal. One would like to hope that this is understood by the people at the helm in the United States.

Bush-Mulroney Talks Focus on 'Acid Rain'

LD1102113489 Moscow TASS in English 1123 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Ottawa February 11 TASS—U.S. President George Bush held talks for five hours with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on questions connected with bilateral relations between the two neighbour countries, as well as on international problems of mutual interest. The main subject of the talks dealing with Canadian-American relations was the "acid rain" problem. "Acid rain" is the result of the discharge by U.S. mills and factories of poisonous waste products into the atmosphere which inflict irreparable damage on the natural environment.

Bush assured Mulroney that he would submit to Congress a draft law containing a programme of the reduction of the volume of industrial waste ejected into the atmosphere, a timetable of its fulfilment and the per cent of the reduction. If the draft law is approved by Congress, the U.S. Administration will be ready to sign an agreement with the Canadian Government on joint actions aimed at stopping the "acid rains" which poison forests and water reservoires in both countries. However, they failed to reach agreement on the timetable for fulfilling the plans of combatting air pollution outlined by the U.S. President.

Bush and Mulroney discussed at the talks the trade and economic relations between the two countries in connection with the recent enactment of a Canadian-American agreement on free trade which provides for the step-by-step elimination of trade barriers and the exchange of goods and services between the two countries. It was agreed that a bilateral government commission would analyze in mid-March the implementation of the agreement, discussing mutual complaints and wishes and outlining ways of settling conflict situations.

Bush and Mulroney exchanged views on a number of international problems, primarily on the East-West relations and arms control. They stressed the similarity of their views on most of the problems discussed.

When the meeting was ended, the leaders of the two countries had a short conversation with journalists. They expressed satisfaction over the results of the talks. In the opinion of Canadian political observers, the visit of the U.S. President to Canada, as expected, did not bring about any specific results. Participants in the talks could only exchange views on a number of major problems and outline priority directions of the future activities of the Canadian and U.S. Governments for developing bilateral relations.

A demonstration was staged outside the building where the talks were being held. The demonstrators protested the testing in Canada of a new type of U.S. offensive weapons—"Stealth" cruise missiles, which they felt subjugated Canada to the interests of the Pentagon. They also opposed the "free trade" agreement with the U.S. which they felt was imposed on the Canadian people by the U.S.

Baker Continues NATO Tour; Meets Thatcher, Howe

LD1302123289 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] London February 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Biryukov:

The U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, on a short working visit to Great Britain, had talks with the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe in London on Sunday. The talks mainly covered East-West relations and NATO policy. The situations in the Middle East, southern Africa and Central America and the problems of international debt were also discussed, as was a possible meeting of the heads of state and government of NATO member-countries. They agreed on the necessity of such a forum but didn't propose any precise date.

According to the British press, Baker who was on his first trip to NATO countries as secretary of state, was especially interested in Western European countries' opinions on plans to modernise NATO nuclear arsenals. The present British Government seems to approve of these plans.

The sides apparently agreed on the situation in the south of Africa. The PRESS ASSOCIATION reported that Baker agreed with the prime minister that new sanctions against South Africa would be counterproductive. At the same time Mrs Thatcher welcomed the American Middle East initiative. Baker said during the talks that the American authorities believe that it is time to hold talks in which all conflicting sides will participate, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the Arab countries and Israel.

Tour Termed 'Important Step'

LD1102163589 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is touring the countries involved in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and his tour will last till 17 February. Viktor Glazunov comments, and this is what he writes:

This is the first foreign trip of James Baker in his capacity as the head of U.S. diplomacy, and it's natural that his first visits lead him to his allies. The establishing of contacts with his counterparts in NATO countries and political consultations with them are important, the more so as the new U.S. Administration is still engaged in taking an inventory of its Reagan legacy and in devising its own political course. In this light James Baker's tour of the NATO countries acquires particular significance as an important step in formulating the foundations of the policy pursued by the United States and by NATO as a whole. Washington officials have mentioned continuance in relations with the Soviet Union and in the area of disarmament. Nevertheless, they lay stress on the need for the Bush administration to work out its own stand on these crucial issues. James Baker's trip will undoubtedly clarify the stand. The secretary of state himself has positively evaluated U.S.-Soviet relations and called for building up the progress already made. In this area he's expected to find support and understanding among his NATO colleagues. However, his recent statement is unlikely to meet with equal sympathy. He claimed that the Soviet Union remains a military power whose interests are hostile to the United States. He doesn't think, he said, that the USSR has given up the policy it followed for a very long time. The impression is that these statements belong to different times—the latter to the time of the cold war.

It seems that James Baker has two souls, and they are wrestling with each other. This relates not only to him. One can't help feeling a certain duality in what Washington officials say. This isn't a political course yet—it's being devised still. Nevertheless, this cautiousness toward the Soviet Union is disquieting, particularly in the light of the solid political improvements gained in U.S.-Soviet relations: the first steps, a plan for beginning talks on cuts in conventional arms and troops in Europe and on the background of unilateral reductions in armed forces and military spending announced by the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

Since 78 or 80 percent of Americans have welcomed the improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations and the joint efforts aimed at eliminating nuclear missiles, the wish of the nation is clear. Hopefully, during his tour of the NATO countries James Baker will be able to be convinced that these countries are also in favor of moving forward on the road to lowering mlitary confrontation and furthering East-West cooperation and a constructive dialogue.

U.S. Postpones Delta-2 Rocket Launch

LD1302092189 Moscow TASS in English 0916 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sitov:

The United States postponed until Tuesday the launching of a new Delta-2 rocket with a military navigation satellite on board form Cape Canaveral cosmodrome, Florida. The launch was previously scheduled for Sunday.

The decision to postpone the launch for two days was taken due to a strong wind in the upper layers of the atmosphere 13 minutes before the launch, which is now scheduled for 13.30, local time (21.30, Moscow time) on Tuesday.

During its first flight the Delta-2 is to deploy a Navstar satellite worth 65 million dollars. The satellite will enable NATO ships, aircraft, tanks and motor vehicles to determine their position with an accuracy of up to 15 metres.

The Delta-2 is one of three new booster rockets which the U.S. Air Force decided to develop for launching military payloads into space following the 1986 Challenger space shuttle disaster. The first launch of another rocket, Titan-4, is scheduled for March. Another rocket, Atlas-2, is to be launched in 1990.

The Navstar satellite will join earlier satellites orbiting at an altitude of about 18,000 kilometres. By 1992 the U.S. Air Force hopes to establish a network of 21 satellites to cover the entire surface of the globe.

Soviet-U.S. Fishery Committee Meets 6-10 Feb

LD1102104689 Moscow TASS in English 0748 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 11 TASS—The Soviet-American intergovernmental consultative committee on fisheries held its first session in Washington from February 6 to February 10. It discussed a number of fishing problems, including the preservation of salmon in the open sea in the northern part of the Pacific, the growing fishing of Alaska pollack in the central part of the Bering Sea and mutual access to fishing resources of the two countries' 200-mile zones.

The delegations discussed technical aspects of mutual rights in the sphere of fishing. Agreement was reached on holding the next session in the Soviet Union. The date will be coordinated later.

China

Summit To Mark 'Complete Normalization' of Ties

OW1202053989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] As is known by all, an agreement was reached during Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's official visit to China on the date and place of a Soviet-Chinese summit. It will take place in China from 15 to 18 May. On this, our station observer Alekseyev writes:

The agreement on a Soviet-Chinese summit is undoubtedly the major result of Shevardnadze's meeting with Chinese leaders. Both the Soviet Union and China believe that the summit will be of great significance and will become a historic event in a real sense. As anticipated by Moscow and Beijing, the event will symbolize a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

What does the concept of complete normalization mean? The Western mass media have often asserted that the Soviet Union hopes to restore its relations with China to the level of the 1950's. Such an assertion is incompatible with reality. As a matter of fact, our view of complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is totally different from that of the 1950's. The Soviet Union intends to build its relations with China on the basis of the long-tested Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and so does China.

There is another major aspect of the summit—that is, both Moscow and Beijing believe that a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, to be brought about by the May summit, will not be tantamount to an end of the process of developing and deepening good-neighborly and cooperative relations between the two countries. As pointed out by Shevardnadze at the Beijing press conference, after the May summit we intend to continue to develop our relations for the happiness of the Soviet and Chinese people and in the interests of universal peace and security.

Today the Soviet Union and China are coordinating extensively with each other in assigning the same top priorities in their domestic and foreign policies. This is a natural and logical outcome because both countries are dedicated to the cause of peace and take identical or similar stands on the key issues in the world today. In domestic affairs, the Soviet Union and China are following similar principles in carrying out fundamental reforms in all realms of their social life. There are other factors which can help further develop cooperation between the two countries.

Therefore, it is entirely reasonable to believe that a complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will enhance their cooperation to a new height and expand the scope of cooperation to produce even more fruitful results.

'Change From Confrontation to Dialogue' in Ties

OW1302015889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 12 Feb 89

[(Philipov) commentary]

[Text] Recently, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze wound up his official visit to China. The results of the visit showed rapid progress in dialogue between the Soviet Union and China. The following is a commentary by our station commentator (Philipov):

In recent years, the political dialogue between the Soviet Union and China has made rapid headway. Vice foreign ministers of the two countries constantly hold talks with each other on boundary questions. Foreign ministers of the two countries frequently meet with each other at the United Nations General Assembly. All these are milestones of the normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China.

I like to point out that in the last year alone the two countries' foreign ministers met five times. It is understandable that the increase in contacts is not the objective. Dear listeners, I think you will agree with me that the most important thing is the qualitative change in Soviet-Chinese relations. There has been a change from confrontation to dialogue. The dialogues have enabled us to move toward cooperation. On the basis of the change, the attitudes of our two countries toward major international issues have become closer. On the one hand, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to Moscow in December last year and Shevardnadze's recent visit to Beijing have ended an old chapter in our bilateral relations. On the other hand, the visits have also started a new chapter in Soviet-Chinese relations. What I am referring to is the preparation for the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting. It has been officially announced that Soviet leader Gorbachev will visit China from 15 May to 18 May. Logically speaking, his forthcoming visit will mark a successful completion of Soviet-Chinese talks, the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, and the beginning of new prospects for further development in bilateral relations.

During their talks in Beijing, the foreign ministers of the two countries discussed the ways and means to perfect Soviet-Chinese political dialogues. They deemed it reasonable to hold more consultations on matters concerning bilateral relations and urgent foreign policy matters, and agreed to hold regular meetings between the foreign ministers of the two countries.

The development of Soviet-Chinese relations is not only of concern to the people of our two countries, but also attracts the attention of the peoples of all countries in the Asia-Pacific region. We should know that the stability and security of the world as a whole depend to a great extent on the stability of relations between the two biggest countries in the region.

PRC, USSR Forming 'New Relationship'

OW0502114689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 4 Feb 89

[From the "Soviet Press on China" program; prepared by station editor (Garibov)]

[Text] In his article in NOVOYE VREMYA, political observer (Kryakov) said: Soviet-Chinese relations have transcended the past and are being given a new substance. The concept of new international political order advanced by Deng Xiaoping matches the Soviet program for establishing a secure world of justice.

(Kryakov) emphasized that in practice the Soviet Union and China are defending the same ideas in the international arena and in the Asia and Pacific region. In principle, they share the same goal in promoting disarmament and detente, fostering a climate of trust, stabilizing the situation, and promoting cooperation.

In his article, (Kryakov), political observer of NOVOYE VREMYA, also noted that awareness of the difficulty in making self-criticism has prompted our two countries to renew our understanding of international affairs in order of importance and urgency. On this basis, Moscow and Beijing are forming a new relationship. Some people in China have noted that this relationship will not return to the level of the 1950's, nor will it repeat the mistakes committed in the 1960's and 1970's. Moscow also agrees with this idea.

Li Peng Receives Pakistan's Bhutto for Talks

LD1202182389 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing February 12 TASS—Talks were held on Sunday between Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, and Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan staying in China on a visit. They discussed a wide range of questions connected with the present international situation and bilateral relations.

Touching upon Soviet-Chinese relations, Li Peng said that the improvement of ties between the USSR and China meant the normalization of relations between the two countries and was not directed against any other country. He also expressed hope for the creation in Afghanistan of a coalition government on a broad basis which would be acceptable to all the parties concerned. Speaking about the Kampuchean settlement, he pointed out that its external and internal factors were inseparable.

Benazir Bhutto emphasized that both countries had similar views on major international problems, expressed high apreciation of their bilateral cooperation and said that their ties could be expanded. She stated that Pakistan was interested in a further development of economic cooperation with China and expressed hope that it would be expanded.

On the same day Benazir Bhutto met with Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. They discussed a wide range of problems connected with bilateral relations and spoke in favour of the development of ties between the two countries.

Soviet Academy of Sciences Group Visits PRC

Marchuk Pre-Departure Comments

OW1302032389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] A Soviet scientists delegation, headed by Comrade Marchuk, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, arrived in China on Thursday. Our station reporter interviewed him prior to his departure for China.

Marchuk, president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said: The main purpose of the visit to China by our large delegation is to understand the rich experience of China's Academy of Sciences in developing natural and technological sciences, the ever-important role that we play in China's modernization, the very important role the Soviet and Chinese academies of sciences play in socialist construction, and to solve problems encountered in the course of scientific and technological progress. We plan to exchange views with leaders of China's Academy of Sciences on enlarged cooperation and raising efficiency. Therefore, we plan to sign a document on the basic policy of scientific cooperation between the two academies of sciences until the year 2000, and an agreement on establishing direct ties between the two academies.

How about the scientific contacts between the Soviet Union and China in recent years? How do you assess the present level of contacts between the two academies of sciences? Comrade Marchuk replied as follows to the questions posed by our station reporter: Contacts between the two academies of sciences were resumed in 1986. That year an agreement on scientific cooperation was signed and a plan for 1987-1988 arranged. The 1987-1988 plan was smoothly carried out. Joint work on 62 special subjects was organized in the area of physics, mathematics, chemistry, geology, and geoscience. Exchange visits between scientists and experts began to expand. In addition, some of our research institutes established direct scientific contacts with Chinese counterparts. For example, the Soviet research institute of crystallography began a joint scientific forum with Chinese counterparts on laser science. This kind of scientific forum is scheduled to be held again in 1989. Branches of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in various Soviet republics also established contacts with Chinese branches of academies of sciences in various provinces and autonomous regions. For example, we hold that the signing of an agreement in November 1988 between the Uzbek Academy of Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Xinjiang branch, is a positive development. Other problems regarding the establishment of contacts between other academies of sciences are being discussed. For example, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Siberia branch and Far East branch are discussing the problem of establishing ties with Chinese scientific organs. We hold that we have great potential for expanding cooperation between the academies of sciences of our two countries.

Yao Yilin Receives Marchuk

LD1002173989 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing February 10 TASS—Yao Yilin, member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China Central Copmmittee, deputy premier of the State Council, chairman of the State Planning Committee of the People's Republic of China, has received Guriy Marchuk, president of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, at the House of People's Assemblies on Friday. Guriy Marchuk leads a delegation of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR now on a visit here.

Welcoming the guests, Yao Yilin said that the visit of a representative Soviet delegation was a new step in developing cooperation between scientists of the two countries. No scientific contacts were maintained for a long time and therefore both sides do not know each other, he said. This prompts the need to broaden relations. Yao Yilin expressed confidence that the next mid-May Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will usher in a new stage in the development of cooperation between scientists of the USSR and China.

Guriy Marchuk said the two countries have many common problems in ecology, earthquake forecasting, a number of other spheres. Over the years that passed since the resumption of scientific contacts the necessary prerequisites were amassed for further expansion of mutually-benefificial cooperation between the academies of sciences of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

Scientists Hold Talks

OW1202103889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Yao Yilin, vice premier of the Chinese State Council, received Guriy Ivanovich Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and his party in Beijing on Friday.

Yao Yilin welcomed the Soviet delegation and added that their visit to China is a new step forward in cooperation between scholars of the two countries. He confidently indicated that the Soviet-Sino summit meeting to be held in mid-May will open a new chapter in bilateral scientific and technological cooperation.

On 10 February the USSR Academy of Sciences delegation held talks with their counterparts from the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Zhou Guangzhao, president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, pointed out: The Chinese Academy of Sciences' policy in the past 10 years has been to expand contacts with foreign countries. Chinese scientists want extensive exchanges with their foreign counterparts.

Marchuk, head of the Soviet delegation and president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, noted: Both the Soviet Union and China have very strong scientific institutions. Their direct cooperation will benefit and enrich each other. The purpose of this visit to China by a large number of Soviet scholars is to conclude agreements on the basic direction of the two academies of sciences' scientific cooperation up to the year 2000 and on direct contacts between the two academies of sciences' various institutes. To date the two sides have organized 62 joint research projects in subjects such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, and geology.

Weekly on Recent Shevardnadze Visit to China

OW0702125389 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 1 Feb 89

[Excerpts] NOVOYE VREMYA, a weekly with many readers at home and abroad, established business relations with Shijie Zhishi Publishing Company of Beijing 1 year ago. Last summer, at the invitation of their Soviet colleagues, a group of Shijie Zhishi Publishing Company personnel paid a visit to our country. In late 1988 Soviet journalists paid a return visit to China.

In the wake of these journalist visits, NOVOYE VREMYA recently published a series of articles that drew great interest from Soviet readers. Recently, our station interviewed NOVOYE VREMYA chief editor (Tikhnapink), one of the authors of these articles. Here are his answers to our questions: [passage omitted]

[Reporter] As you know, Shevardnadze, our foreign minister, will pay an official visit to China from 2 to 4 February. This will be the first visit to China by the leading official of our Foreign Ministry in the history of Soviet-Chinese relations. Many observers have pointed out that Soviet-Chinese relations have now entered a new stage. In your opinion, what results will this visit produce? What are the prospects for relations between the two countries?

[(Tikhnapink) heard briefly speaking in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] Let's see ... We were in China 7 days, during which time the Chinese foreign minister happened to be in Moscow for a visit. We saw in person how our Chinese colleagues were concerned about Qian Qichen's visit to the USSR and paid keen attention to every word that came out of Moscow. We saw in person the importance attached by Chinese to Qian Qichen's meetings with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze. We did not get to know the situation only from newspaper articles and television and radio commentaries. The people we met everywhere, whether workers in plants or people from intellectual circles, were particularly concerned about everything in the USSR. I believe that Shevardnadze's visit to China will draw the same kind of public interest from the Chinese public.

The USSR takes this visit very seriously. I think all those years in which we did not have any high-level contacts did no good to either country. This high-level meeting, which will pave the way for sincere, in-depth talks at a summit meeting, will play a very active role in the relations of our two countries and peoples. [passage omitted]

Northeast Asia

Takeshita, Uno Comments on USSR Ties Viewed

OW1102044289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Prime Minister Takeshita and Foreign Minister Uno addressed the resumed Diet session on 10 February and talked about the prospects for Japan's foreign policy. We will now broadcast commentator Dmitriyev's remarks on these speeches:

In these speeches, the Japanese leaders reiterated Japan's intent to bear greater responsibilites for its role in the international community. It does not intend to provide large amounts of economic aid, but to have its own positive plan for playing its role in international relations. Prime Minister Takeshita and Foreign Minister Uno have talked about these plans in their speeches to the Diet.

Prime Minister Takeshita stated his determination to make great efforts in international cooperation for strengthening world peace. Explaining the plans in greater detail, Foreign Minister Uno stated that Japan intends to contribute toward adjusting economic trends. The plan to provide developing countries with large sums in loans is a major part of the plans stated in his speech. They also mentioned efforts for protecting the environment.

Prime Minister Takeshita stated his wish to establish relations of true mutual understanding and conclude a peace treaty with the Soviet Union. Despite the impracticality of this plan, it can be taken as a forward-looking plan overall. The purposes of the foreign policy stated by both Mr Takeshita and Mr Uno are familiar to the Soviet Union, and neighboring countries can be expected to take practical and reciprocal actions for attaining those purposes.

However, the obstacle to this plan is the strict attitude that Japan continues to take toward the so-called territorial issue. Judging from Mr Takeshita and Mr Uno's speeches to the Diet, the Japanese Government, as always, considers improvement of its ties with the Soviet Union in connection with the fulfillment of its territorial claim. We cannot help but feel that an attempt to intentionally freeze Soviet-Japanese relations in such a way will result in significantly limiting the ability of Japan to promote its diplomatic activities in the international arena.

Several other questions can be brought up in regard to the speeches of Mr Takeshita and Mr Uno. For example, Prime Minister Takeshita stated that Japan would never become a military power. His remarks should certainly be welcomed. However, the point at issue is whether or not the Japanese Government understands the definition of a military power. According to an international survey, Japan has now become the world's no 3 nation in military expenditures, and military spending will be increased by almost 6 percent in budgets for the next fiscal year. Foreign Minister Manglapus of the Philippines made a speech in Manila on 7 February and stated that Japan's military buildup has aroused apprehension among the Asian countries.

Well, then, there is another question. Prime Minister Takeshita stated that Japan would be ready to promote positive foreign policies that would develop and strengthen favorable changes in the world. This remark is also welcome, because such changes have come only in words, then been ignored in actual policies. However, how can Prime Minister Takeshita's splendid intention to promote favorable trends be considered in connection with the measures Japan plans to take in the future as reported recently in SANKEI SHIMBUN?

To be more precise, SANKEI SHIMBUN reports that to readjust differences in the appraisal of the so-called Soviet threat, the Japanese Government intends to consult with various Western countries. It is clear from this report that the Japanese Government still holds to its position conflicting with that of the Soviet Union and that it plans to compel its Western partners to take the same position. Will this be useful in easing tension?

This is the impression given by the speeches of the Japanese prime minister and foreign minister delivered at the Diet session. Overall, they give an impression that various contradictions in actual foreign policy constitute many obstacles to attaining the objectives stated in the speeches to the Diet.

Solution to Japan's Territorial Claim Studied

OW1002121289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Excerpts] On 7 February, Moscow Central Television Service, Channel 10, carried in its Resonance [Repercussions] program a discussion on various problems in the Asia-Pacific region as well as solutions to these problems. Among those who participated in this program were Major General Batenin, IZVESTIYA political observer Bovin, Deputy Chairman Ivanov of the USSR Council of Ministers' State Foreign Economic Commission, and Lukin, chief of a Foreign Ministry department. The program was moderated by Tsvetov, political observer of Soviet television and radio. The program was broadcast live and anyone could ring one of the 12 telephones set up in the studio to ask questions regarding the region.

The participants in the program pointed out the growing significance of the Asia-Pacific region and its role as a new political, economic, and cultural center in international relations. Concerning the military and strategic role of the Asia-Pacific region in the present world, Maj Gen Batenin said:

[Begin Batenin recording in Russian, fading into Japanese translation] Recently, Europe's military significance has been decreasing. However, war preparations have been strengthened in the Asia-Pacific region. Recently, the Soviet Union has taken measures to ease military confrontation in this region. Until recently, the Soviet Union had 1.7 million men in the eastern Soviet Union. However, this number has been reduced. Recently, both the scale and scope of Soviet military exercises in the Asia-Pacific region has been reduced considerably. In Europe, thanks to the Stockholm accord and European developments, exact data concerning the strength of the opposing military blocs have been disclosed. General Secretary Gorbachev, both in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, proposed the creation of a similar system in the Asia-Pacific region. [end recording]

Bovin of IZVESTIYA said the same principles for building the European system could be applied to the Asia-Pacific region, but pointed out that it had become difficult owing to the more complicated situation and the conflicts between nations there. [passage omitted]

The program also took up and discussed various problems concerning the relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, including the so-called territorial issue and the issue of Japan becoming a military power. Maj Gen Batenin said he personally does not consider Japan an enemy, but considering the fact that Japan is an extremely strong economic power and considering the existence of a Japan-U.S. Security Pact, Japan could turn into a major threat. He said it is necessary to lower the level of military activity and promote cooperation in all fields in this region.

Then, Tsvetov, moderator of the program, introduced several remarks made by Soviet people concerning Japan's territorial claim on the Soviet Union. While some propose that the fate of four of the southern Kuril Islands be studied more openly for the purpose of improving Soviet-Japanese relations, others resent the Japanese claim.

The participants in the program pointed out that the question of the Kuril Islands belonging to the Soviet Union was decided by an international treaty after World War II. From the viewpoint of international law, the territorial issue does not exist. However, a political problem related to these islands does exist because the question is blocking the sound development of Soviet-Japanese relations. A solution acceptable to both sides should be worked out on this issue. A special working group on concluding a peace treaty set up as a result of Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Japan is now working to solve this issue.

U.S. Arms Misawa F-16's With Antiship Missiles

OW1302101789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] A report from Tokyo says the U.S. military headquarters here plans to arm F-16 fighter bombers in Japan's Misawa Air Base with special equipment capable of launching long-range (?Trident) missiles against ships. In reporting this, KYODO points out that despite detente between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Misawa Air Base is playing a greater role in the U.S. military strategy. Now 50 F-16 fighter bombers are deployed at the airbase. They are capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

Soviet, ROK Trade Missions To Open in March

LD1002222989 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—Missions of the South Korean Organisation for the Promotion of Trade "KOTRA" and of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry will be opened in Moscow and Seoul in April. Their main task will be to render assistance to the establishment of contacts between South Korean firms and Soviet enterprises, a TASS correspondent was told by Vladimir Golanov, vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry. He said that the development of economic relations between the USSR and South Korea is prompted above all by the coincidence of their interests in the establishment of cooperation for the development of the Far Eastern and Siberian regions of the USSR.

Vladimir Golanov said that the volume of bilateral trade via third countries made up about 100 million dollars last year. It consisted mainly of Soviet exports of coal, sawn timber and fish products. But South Korea's technological and economic potential enables it to participate in large-scale projects that the USSR plans to implement in the Far East and Siberia.

The main ways of the development of bilateral cooperation were outlined when Honorary President of the South Korean Confederation of Industrialists Chong Chu-Yong was on a visit in the USSR. A large delegation of South Korean businessmen will visit the USSR in March. It will establish contacts with enterprises in the Far East and Siberia to determine concrete projects of cooperation.

The vice-president of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry said that Soviet and South Korean business circles visualise such trends of cooperation as oceanic fishing and the development of mariculture combined with the construction of onshore structures and re-equipment of floating bases, the processing of timber with the use of waste-free technologies, the participation of South Korean firms in the construction of plants for the production of aluminium, colour TV sets, other technological consumer goods.

He said that South Korean companies are much interested in getting the rights to develop coal deposits in Siberia and the Far East, deposits of gas and oil on the Sakhalin Shelf. There are also interesting projects for machine-building area.

Vladimir Golanov said that forms of bilateral economic cooperation might be extremely varied. They might range from direct trade to joint enterprise, cooperation in production, and South Korean companies' participation in the implementation of various projects.

DPRK General Interviewed onU.S., ROK Ties

LD1102152389 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Kaeson February 11 TASS—"We look optimistically into the future of contacts between North and South Korea," stated Major-General Choe Ui-ung of the Korean People's Army, chief delegate of the Korean-Chinese side in the military commission for armistice in Korea, in an interview with TASS correspondent Aleksandr Zhebin.

The correspondent met with the general who had been appointed to the post last Autumn, at the headquarters of the Korean-Chinese side of the commission here. The headquarters is located about ten kilometres away from the military demarcation line which runs across the entire Korean peninsula along the 38th parallel, separating the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) from South Korea.

"The North regards a solution to matters concerning political and military detente on the peninsula as being central to the dialogue with the South," the general pointed out.

He gave the interview after the February 8 preliminary meeting in Panmunjom in preparation for military and political talks between the sides at prime ministers' level. Although the meeting did not yield immediate results, it was nonetheless useful since it marked the beginning of a discussion of topical problems. It is important now to secure the removal of the long drawn mistrust between the two regions of the country. This is why the DPRK insists on termination of the American-South Korean Team Spirit-89 joint military exercises which, they feel, constitute a dress rehearsal for a nuclear war against the DPRK.

Touching upon invitations which the U.S.-South Korean side sends to the DPRK every year to send its observers to exercises as is practiced in Europe, the general said that, in his view, the Team Spirit and exercises held by NATO and Warsaw Treaty Organisation Armed Forces "substantially differ from each other." In Europe, he maintains "exercises are held in an atmosphere of relaxation of tension and building of confidence and are defensive in character. The U.S.-South Korean exercises are of an offensive character and push the nation towards the precipice of nuclear disaster". "One should not hold a weapon in one hand while shaking the hand of the partner with the other".

At the 445th meeting of the armistice commission on January 17 the DPRK suggested discussing the idea of ending all large-scale military exercise on the Korean peninsula and ensuring security in the joint protection zone in Panmunjom and within the demilitarized zone between the North and South on the whole. However, the Americans evaded discussing first points and reiterated their old proposals concerning the mutual-protection and demilitarized zones. "We in the commission", the general pointed out, "are prepared to discuss problems suggested by both parties".

The DPRK, he went on to say, also intends actively to work for the convocation of a political consultative meeting between the leaders of the North and South, although many difficulties are yet to be overcome on the way.

In view of reports about the forthcoming visit to the DPRK by Chong Chu-yong, president of the Korean Industry Federation and the Hyundai Group, in April, the general said the South Korean businessmen and persons accompanying him would cross the military demarcation line at Panmunjom in accordance with procedures which had been used in 1985. At that time the delegations of North and South Koreans had visited Seoul and Pyongyang respectively to attend alternate meetings of representatives of the Red Cross societies of the DPRK and South Korea, and for meeting with relatives as well.

Touching upon reports on the DPRK's decision to hand over to the United States the remains of five American servicemen who died in the 1950-1953 Korean war, the general pointed out that the step was prompted by the DPRK's humane stand and that it took into account the wishes of the American people.

A ceremony to this effect did not take place due to sanctions which the United States applied against the DPRK in January of 1988 in view of the disappearance of a South Korean airliner. The sides did not yet discuss a specific procedure for the implementation of the accord, Choe Ui-ung said.

Rogachev, MPR's Gombosuren Discuss Ties, Asia

LD1102143289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1232 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 11 Feb (TASS)—I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is here on a working visit, was received today by MPR Foreign Minister Ts. Gombosuren.

During their discussion, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and comradely mutual understanding, the Soviet side reported the progress made in implementation of the foreign political initiatives presented by M.S. Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly session. The state and prospects for settling regional conflicts in

Asia (Afghanistan, Cambodia, and the Korean peninsula) were discussed in detail. In the discussion were D.Yondon, MPR first deputy foreign minister, and V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to the MPR.

Near East & South Asia

2d Phase of Afghan Pullout Nearly Complete

39,093 Troops Withdrawn

PM1102175589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian12 Feb 89 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Dispatch by special correspondents Lieutenant Colonel N. Burbyga and Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik: "Last Kilometers. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's Special Correspondents Report From Afghanistan"]

[Excerpts] In order to picture the whole scale of the work connected with the continuing Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan we have visited several hot spots, as you might say.

The army command post at 0830 hours. The field office of Major General V. Sokolov, chief of staff of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops. [passage omitted]

The chief of staff went over to the telephone and issued orders. A minute later several aerial photographs were placed on his table. We learned that members of the opposition had grown quiet following the combat operations that subunits of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops had conducted in the south Salang region in conjunction with Afghan Army units. They are now mainly shelling cities and settlements. During the night of 10 February, Qandahar, Konduz, Gardeyz, Ghazni, and Bagram were shelled with rockets.

"The situation has become calmer in the region of the road from Pol-e Khomri to Hayraton," Maj Gen Sokolov said. "According to our aerial reconnaissance data, the armed opposition is building up its forces but is not entering into open combat..." [passage omitted]

Termez. These days there are more and more servicemen in its streets in the new field uniform which at present only internationalist servicemen wear. The city is living for the troops' return from Afghanistan. Yesterday one of us was in Termez, on our bank of the river. He saw the faces of mothers, fathers, and wives tired of waiting. Many of them were holding homemade placards with the number of the Army postal service and just a single name. They all had one question: Has our son's unit pulled out? [passage omitted]

The mother of Senior Sergeant Andrey Redko, member of a landing force, was interested in this question: Where is the last post of our rear guard now and how far do servicemen still have to travel on Afghan soil before they reach their native borders? We inform Tatyana Semenovna and all impatiently awaiting the internationalist servicemen's return of the data we have received from the Army command post: As of 10 February, 39,093 people had returned to the motherland from Afghanistan.

Outposts Given to Kabul Regime

PM1002172589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Stop the Presses"]

[Text] Soviet subunits have handed over outpost supports and sentry posts on the Salang Pass to the Afghan Army. Troops have also withdrawn from the garrisons in Herat, Khugianay, and Dowshi. According to current figures from the headquarters of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan, 3,233 men were withdrawn to the Soviet Union yesterday. As of 9 February a total of 37,015 Soviet Army servicemen and civilian personnel had returned home.

'Small' Kabul Airport Group Left

LD1102101289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] The last Soviet military unit to march from Afghanistan has driven across the high Salang Pass. The pass is situated about 200 km from the Soviet border.

The posts situated along the highway that ensured the withdrawal of all troops are breaking camp behind this unit.

A small group of Soviet servicemen now remains at Kabul airport, ensuring in particular the safe landing of cargo planes from the Soviet Union.

Pullout Through Salang Pass Viewed

LD1002221289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 10 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by M. Leshchinskiy, identified by screen caption, from Salang Pass in Afghanistan]

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is continuing. Our correspondent presents a report from the route along which the military columns are moving.

[Leshchinskiy, over video of snow-covered mountains, serpentine route winding through mountains, and Salang tunnel, with hummocky snow and drifts heaped up on either side of roadway and trucks and tanks struggling to cope with packed snow on road surface] Everyone into whose life and destiny Afghanistan has entered knows the name of this mountainous pass. The motherland is behind the mountain, beyond the Salang, we used to say; the height of this mountain, however, is over 4,000 meters. It was at precisely that height that a tunnel was drilled through over two decades ago, which opened the way between the USSR border and the central districts of Afghanistan.

And now, in the decisive days of the withdrawal of our troops, the Salang has become an almost insuperable barrier on their way. The winter here is always a hard trial, but no one can remember one such as this. In February alone some 30 avalanches have fallen on the road. A merciless wind is blowing, blocking the upper passages with snow. Thirty degrees of frost overnight grip the roadway in icy armor, which thaws during the day under the stormy sun. Under conditions such as this, several thousand transport and military machines have been successfully dragged—partly in the literal sense of the word—through the Salang. The columns were showered by avalanches, several machines were hurled into the abyss by avalanches, as a result of which three people died.

And that's the lot: All the Soviet columns have passed over the Salang pass. The last unit to leave is the one commanded by Colonel Vostrotin. The defense of the pass was entrusted precisely to this guard's parachute assault landing regiment. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [Leshchinskiy] So, Colonel, today is doubtless for you a day of complex and numerous emotions. You were one of the first to enter Afghanistan, in 1979, as a senior lieutenant. You are leaving it today as a colonel, a Hero of the Soviet Union, and you have spent a total of 5 years here, in two bouts, so to speak. What remains here for you (?in Afghanistan)?

[Vostrotin] In brief, life itself, with all the impressions that form around victory and failure; and friends—not only those who have died, whom we shall remember always—but also those friends whom I had to carry out military actions with over the long years; real human relations, which took shape throughout my whole stay here. First and foremost I should like to [word indistinct] new life. And I should like once again to stress that experience—experience of life, experience of interrelating with people, human relations, real human relations—will doubtless be of use to us throughout the rest of our life.

[Leshchinskiy] Well, farewell, bon voyage, and joyous meetings with those at home. [video shows column moving down around serpentine pass, troops waving from tank at camera]

Our troops are moving further and further from the Hindu Kush. Behind them, (?hard on their heels), roll the guard stations and posts, whose places are being taken by Afghan soldiers. And so now right to the very border: From the Salang to the border is only just over 200 km. [end recording]

Proceeding 'According to Schedule'

LD1202090589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Excerpt] The days are numbered before the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the Republic of Afghanistan is complete. We now go to our special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev in the border town of Termez. Good day, Volodya.

[Bezyayev] An hour and a half ago an intense movement of columns began from the other side. Today subunits of landing forces are coming out, as are rear subunits. Yesterday it was 16 degrees below zero here, and today it is still cold. The Afghanets [local southwesterly wind] is blowing. The air is, quite literally, completely saturated with dust. There are parents who are meeting their sons—sometimes it is difficult to recognize them because everyone is so covered with dust, and even we have dust everywhere.

The withdrawal of troops is proceeding exactly according to schedule. On the other side UN observers are confirming this. Here is the latest data: There is a town called Toragundi—the withdrawal of troops is proceeding in two directions, through Kushka and through Termez—where our troops are only a few kilometers from the frontier. Here it is only a matter of dozens of kilometers. An event took place literally a few minutes ago which moved us all a great deal. A column of Kamaz trucks went past, and literally a few minutes later, a simple memorial, a small white obelisk and the steering wheel of a Kamaz truck, appeared on the little hill at the frontier bridge. The inscription read: Aleksandr Viktorevich Grom, born 1968, died 27 April 1988. We do not know what sort of column this is. It is clear that it brought this memorial from the other side where, alas, a considerable number of such memorials remain. One would like to hope that this memorial is the last. [passage omitted]

Disagreements Continue To Divide Afghan Rebels

Mujahidin Shura Delayed

LD1002173289 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Islamabad February 10 TASS—A meeting of the so-called Consultative Council, or Shura, called in the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi today by the leaders of a number of Afghan opposition groups, was postponed indefinitely—amid sharp disagreements—immediately after the opening sitting.

Held 90 minutes later than scheduled, the sitting was attended by merely 350 out of 526 invited delegates.

Despite earlier agreements, the Iranian-based opposition did not send its representatives to the heavily guarded conference hall.

The meeting was also boycotted by the vast majority of field commanders operating in Afghanistan.

The sessions' principal proclaimed aim is to create a "provisional government" to replace the present Afghan leadership.

But a number of opposition figures believes that the idea, as formulated now, is unrealistic.

Further disagreements were prompted by the unequal representation of opposition groups in the council, which is dominated by the Peshawar-based "Alliance of the Seven", and by the issue of relations with the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

'Last-Ditch Attempt' To Save Shura

LD1102153389 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Islamabad February 11 TASS—The leaders of the Pakistan-based Alliance of Seven and some other Sunni opposition groups held a special meeting today. It is regarded as a last-ditch attempt at resuming the work of the so-called consultative council, or shura, the sessions of which in the conditions of acute differences were postponed on Friday for an indefinite time immediately after the opening ceremony.

A spokesman for the opposition said the purpose of today's closed-door meeting was to work out an agenda for the consultative council.

Yesterday's session failure was caused by its boycott on the part of Iran-based Shiite opposition groups. They urged the Peshawar-based Alliance of Seven, which dominates the shura, to increase the number of seats allotted for Shiites at the shura and to give them seven cabinet posts in a contemplated government. The sunnis refused outright.

Muhammad Karim Khalili, leader of Shiite groups, said that the talks with the leadership of the Alliance of Seven likewise ended with no result. He announced his delegation's departure from Pakistan.

The newscaster of the American NBC television network said that representatives of the main Afghan opposition groups who gathered for a shura session on Friday do not trust one another.

The opinion of some of them, he said, is that U.S. and Pakistani secret services are trying to impose leaders convenient to them upon the Afghans who believe that the United States, Pakistan as well as Iran, if they succeed in installing a government they want in power in Afghanistan, will be interested in a division of the country.

'Disorder Reigns'; More Clashes

PM1102171789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent Yu. Tyssovskiy dispatch: "Extremists Being Rebuffed"]

[Text] Kabul, 10 Feb—The internal political situation in Afghanistan remains complex. There is continuing confrontation between supporters and opponents of national reconciliation. During the past 24 hours formations of the intransigent opposition have once again shelled security posts in Nangarhar Province' Rowdat and Deh Bala districts, as well as shelling the cities of Khowst, Gardeyz, Ghazni, and Lashkar Gah. All these sallies are invariably rebuffed.

Afghan artillery inflicted a counterstrike against a rebel concentration in Qandahar Province' Turkhotal region. Twelve extremists were killed and five wounded.

Bloody clashes between opposition detachments of differing political orientation have flared up with new force in Takhar and Vardak Provinces and in regions adjacent to the Salang Pass. More than 160 people were killed and 50 injured during fighting between rebel groupings of G. Hikmatyar's "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" and the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" in Takhar. "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" detachments are incurring big losses in Vardak Province. During the past few days alone they have lost up to 200 people killed and injured.

Disorder reigns among the opposition, which is trying to close its ranks. The second attempt to convene a consultative council (shura) in Peshawar ended in failure. Opposition groupings have once again fallen out with one another. The leaders of the eight-party alliance based in Iran are demanding greater representation at this forum than the fundamentalists of the "Peshawar seven" will agree to.

So squabbles and provocations are continuing at a time when a responsible approach is required. For more than 2 years the Afghan leadership and its political allies consistently offered the opposition the olive branch of peace. Rejecting a monopoly on power, the PDPA proposed the creation of a coalition leadership on a very broad basis, which would be capable of determining Afghanistan's political future.

So far only a categorical refusal has come out of Peshawar, and the policy of further extending the bloodshed has continued. What remains under such conditions? The conviction has taken shape in the ranks of the PDPA that further concessions are useless, and there is a stronger will to defend the progressive transformations implemented in the country with weapon in hand. This was clearly manifested in the recent march in the capital. The determination to uphold the ideals for whose realization the party has made so many sacrifices was demonstrated. President Najibullah expressed the general mood at the rally which followed: "We say to the opposition," he said, "that we have burned our bridges for retreat and will only advance. This is the final decision of the PDPA combat staff." At the same time the head of the party and the state emphasized that the government will consistently travel the path of national reconciliation, and he confirmed the readiness to enter into negotiations with the opposition at any time and in any place.

Acute Shortages Reported in Kabul

LD1102173389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 11 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by Aleksandr Shkirando from Kabul; correspondents identified from screen captions]

[Text] [Aleksandr Serikov] Hello, comrades. The situation in Afghanistan remains the main topic of the stories being broadcast today by the information agencies of virtually all the countries of the world. Just a few days remain until the final withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of Afghanistan. The tendency in the West is to see this withdrawal as pretty well the main guarantee that the situation in Afghanistan will be stabilized. For instance, a week has gone by since the Soviet troops were withdrawn from Kabul, but the situation in the Afghan capital remains difficult. Over to our Kabul correspondent:

[Aleksandr Shkirando] Kabul is maintaining normality. As before, all enterprises and educational establishments are functioning. True, some new features have appeared on the face of the city. On the streets and in the squares, by the entrances to enterprises, especially state ones, you will often come across militarized groups such as these, consisting of members of the PDPA and the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan. All the same, despite the fairly stable military situation, grave difficulties still exist in the lives of the townsfolk. For several days now there has been no gasoline whatsoever in the city, nor fuel to heat the houses. There is not enough food. This state of affairs has arisen because recently armed opposition detachments on the outskirts of Kabul have been mounting attacks on the caravans delivering the basic essentials to the capital, above all in the areas of Mir Bacheh Kowt, Shakar Dareeh, Charikar, and Bagrami.

Unquestionably, an economic blockade such as this gives rise to a sense of foreboding and uncertainty in the future among the citizens of the city. Moreover, time and again the implacable opposition has been speaking of seizing the capital in the very near future.

What is the Afghan Army command's opinion on this?

[Begin M. Asef Delawar, chief of the general staff, recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] For 10 years the opposition has been trying to seize Kabul and on several occasions has announced firm dates for doing so. I should state quite categorically that the battle-hardened Afghan Army, armed as it is with modern weapons, will not allow the extremists to carry through their plans. And if they should attempt to mount an attack, they will receive an even more crushing blow than they were dealt at Konduz and Qandahar. [end recording]

That is the opinion of the Afghan command. It is hard at the moment to say how things will develop here in the near future.

Freight for Afghanistan Piles Up at Railhead

PM1002195789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondent N. Sautin dispatch: "Chronicle of Busy Days. IZVESTIYA's Special Correspondent Travels With Column of Troops Leaving Afghanistan."]

[Excerpts] Hayraton—The UN flag flutters on the roof of a two-story detached building near the bridge in Hayraton. The building houses the international mission to observe fulfillment of the Geneva agreements. It consists of five officers from Canada, Finland, and Poland. Seated on the veranda, they observe the passing of convoys through binoculars and note down something. I did not succeed in talking with them, although there was an agreement about an interview. "We have no time for journalists now...," the foreign officers, who get danger money of $300 a day, said. But Afghans ride around Hayraton on donkeys and bicycles, all the stores are open, repair work is being carried out on the roads... In short, all is quiet in the city.

I had met PRAVDA correspondent Vadim Okulov in Na'ebabad. His Kabul correspondent's center has been closed, like our IZVESTIYA one. He and I were sitting on the turret of an armored personnel carrier.

"There are rumors that Najibullah wants to move the capital to Mazar-e Sharif, closer to us."

"Those rumors are groundless," Okulov replied. "There is no need for this. Despite its complex situation, Kabul can defend itself." [passage omitted]

Afghan dock workers Adul and Nassir showed me the Hayraton warehouses. This is our aid to the fraternal people. From here, Hayraton, two motor transport battalions continue the dangerous work and take freight to Afghan cities. They go in the opposite direction of the departing Soviet Army convoys. They carry sugar, wheat...

As many as 100 freightcars a day cross the Friendship Bridge into Afghanistan, and the warehouses in Hayraton are already crammed full. Freight is now being unloaded right onto the ground. More than 300 railcars have piled up here, still loaded. Up to 100 trucks start out from here for Kabul every day. The Soviet Union now accounts for 80 percent of the aid, and Pakistan for 20 percent, but now our barges no longer sail along the Amudarya, not even escorted by patrol boats...

Moscow Criticizes U.S. Pullout From Kabul

LD1202011489 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] And now, Moscow viewpoint by Valentin Zorin. Here is what he writes.

The United States closed its embassy in Kabul recently. The whole of the embassy staff, including the Marines guarding the Embassy building, left for home. The windows and doors of the embassy building were shuttered. Following the American diplomats other Western missions—British, Italian, West German, among others—departed from Kabul.

All this gives food for thought. Throughout the last few years the American Embassy has been functioning in a routine way in Afghanistan, a country with which the United States maintains normal diplomatic relations. The American diplomats there felt themselves perfectly secure during their usual work. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the completion of that withdrawal stipulated by the Geneva agreements was not unexpected for them. Moreover, the United States was more persistent than others in pressing for this withdrawal as one of the conditions for the solution of the Afghan question. Now that this condition has been met and met on time, Washington resorts to the hurried, complete, and obviously demonstrative evacuation of its embassy. And this is done by a country which is one of the guarantors of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

This move can hardly be justified by fears for the life of American citizens abroad. They are threatened by neither the Kabul Government, though it doesn't come to Washington's liking, nor by anti-Afghan opposition fighters, termed by Washington as freedom-fighters. Washington supplies them with American-made weapons and money, estimated in many millions. The point is that this joint action by the American diplomats and their allies may have as its purpose a need to weaken the positions of the present government in Afghanistan. Besides, the escape of American diplomats may also be qualified as recognition of the fact that the patrons of the so-called freedom fighters know their real worth and prefer to be at a good safe distance from them, just in case.

Afghan Military, Political Situation Viewed

LD1102231589 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] As Lieutenant General Boris Gromov, commander of the Soviet limited Army contingent, crosses the red line on the bridge across Amu Darya River separating the Soviet Union and Afghanistan at 1000 on 15 February, the last Soviet soldier will have been withdrawn from that country. This will close the book on a military-political operation that has lasted more than 9 years and caused a mixed reaction worldwide. Although its results are yet to be analyzed, one thing is clear: In a display of political wisdom the Soviet leadership has taken what seems to be the only correct option of pulling out, thereby fulfilling its obligation under the Geneva accords. The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording in Russian fading into English translation] We have matched our words to our deeds, but there are other words and deeds to match. There is our commitment to Afghanistan offered to it at its hour of trial, and we have to honor it at a time when it faces yet another time of trial. The depature of the last Soviet soldier from Afghanistan must not spark off civil war there. We must try and find ways to reach a political settlement and an end to the fratricide. Should there be a setback, heightened tensions, or further interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, the Soviet Union will have to remind that it has its own commitments before and a treaty with that country. [end recording]

Meanwhile a Radio Moscow correspondent in Kabul sent in this report: Last week's withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Afghan capital leaves just a small Army unit to guard Kabul airport, which keeps receiving Soviet airlifts of food supplies. The unit is to leave Kabul by the deadline of 15 February. In the meantime, city life goes on as usual, perhaps to the surprise of some foreign newsmen who may have expected martial law in Kabul. Police and volunteer patrol groups often appear in the streets for checks of vehicles to prevent bomb attacks.

But in the countryside the situation remains complicated, although a deterioration of the overall military-political situation hardly comes into question. There have been no Soviet troops in the administrative centers of Jalalabad, Gardeyz and Ghazni for 8 months now, and in Qandahar for 6 months, and yet the extremists can hardly boast of any decisive success in trying to seize those strategically important cities despite their desperate attempts to do so.

They now take steps to set up a separatist government through the so-called consultative council, or shura, which had to be closed soon after it convened in the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi on Friday. The reason is open disagreement between groups based in Pakistan and in Iran.

President Najibullah, in this week's speech in Kabul, said the Afghan leadership continued to support the policy of national reconciliation with the aim of bringing peace to the country. However, he said that the extremist part of the armed opposition wants to continue the war and that the government must be prepared to defend the honor and dignity of its people.

Afghan Army, Opposition Clashes Continue

LD1202140989 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 12 TASS—Intransigent opposition groups rocketed Jaji Meydan district, the city of Khowst, and a number of populated localities in Paktia Province in the past 24 hours, killing two civilians. The security posts of government troops in Nangarhar Province were also fired upon.

Afghan Army units carried out an operation to rout an insurgent group in Alah Say district of Qandahar Province, killing seven insurgents and destroying more than ten strongpoints of the enemy and a depot with arms and ammunition.

The BAKHTAR news agency reports that a detachment of more than 40 oppositionists went over to the government side in Konduz Province.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent the 213th note to the UN Observers Mission in Kabul. The note emphasizes that Pakistan, in flagrant violation of the provisions of the Geneva agreements, continues to supply extremist groups with arms and ammunition which are used for terror against civilians population.

Twenty Iranian citizens, who had been arrested in Afghanistan for subversive activity in the past decade, were granted an amnesty by a decree of the Afghan president to mark the tenth anniversary of the Islamic revolution in Iran. A ceremony of handing over the released to representatives of the Iranian Embassy took place in Kabul on Saturday.

This humane step by the Afghan leadership, stated charge d'affaires ad interim of Iran, promotes the cause of strengthening friendly relations between the two neighbouring countries. He voiced hope for the earliest restoration of peace and security in Afghanistan and called for cooperation between the two countries in this matter.

Afghan Opposition Fires Missiles on Cities

LD1102132989 Moscow TASS in English 1223 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 11 TASS—Armed opposition groups fired missiles yesterday at the cities of Khowst, Qandahar and Herat. There was loss of life among the civilian population. The extremists again shelled with heavy artillery fire the outposts in the districts of Kameh, Shiveh and Sorkh Dival of the Nangarhar Province, killing two servicemen of the Afghan army, the BAKHTAR News Agency reported.

Terrorists staged another barbaric action in Qandahar. They planted a bomb in a densely populated district of the city. That resulted in a powerful explosion, killing 5 and wounding 20.

Government troops attacked areas of concentration of the enemy forces in the Province of Konduz. They killed 31 and wounded 22 extremists in the district of Hazrat-e Sultan.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent the 110th and the 111th messages to the UN observer mission in Kabul, citing incidents by Pakistan that are in violation of the Geneva Accords.

The United Nations Organisation started delivering food to Kabul within the framework of rendering economic and humanitarian aid to Afghanistan. The UN's first relief flight arrived in the Afhgan capital on Friday carrying 30 tons of wheat. According to the BAKHTAR News Agency, irreconcilable opposition units attacked a UN convoy near the city of Jalalabad. Essential supplies for the Afghan civilian population carried by 47 trucks were entirely plundered by the rebels.

TASS Reports Najibullah 11 Feb Speech

LD1102204889 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 11 TASS—President of the Republic of Afghanistan Najibullah spoke on the Afghan radio and television today. "Reliable information about the unprecedented concentration of units of Pakistan's Armed Forces in districts bordering on Afghanistan, particularly in the direction of Nangarhar Province has been coming in of late," he said. "The composition of these units and their deployment at strategic points leave no doubt that they prepare to seize the city of Jalalabad by an armed attack".

Najibullah said that sinister plans and annexationist aspirations of Pakistani militarists, the purposes of the concentration of Pakistani troops, had been revealed in a speech of Pakistan's President Ghulum Ishaq Khan delivered recently in the Pakistani city of Shikarpur. "The Pakistani president spoke as openly about Pakistan's policy with regard to Afghanistan which had earlier been kept special. The president said that Pakistan hopes to annex Afghanistan under the cover of a 'confederation'. He also expressed in this connection the confidence that in return for military, financial, and political aid from Pakistan the Afghan armed opposition will agree that Pakistan should play a role in Afghanistan's destiny.

"The essence of the so-called confederation which Pakistan's president mentioned lies in the creation of a unified Afghan-Pakistani state. It is precisely this right that Pakistan reserves for the opposition. Haven't the opposition leaders profited enough from the spilt blood of hundreds of thousands of Afghans? Isn't this all enough for them so that they should trade their motherland now? They have sold their own people and now they wish to sell its land."

"Everybody remembers quite clearly that as long as Soviet troops were staying in Afghanistan, noisy accusations of the USSR that it allegedly intends to annex Afghanistan were coming from various areas of the world, and particularly from Pakistan", Najibullah said.

"Now that Soviet troops are leaving Afghanistan, the assertions of our enemies about the encroachment on our independence by the USSR have been fully repudiated. The Republic of Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan have done their utmost to expose such propaganda and lies, creating favourable conditions for the return of Soviet troops home.

"However, what the president of Pakistan had earlier been ascribing to others, was proclaimed in his latest speeches as the official policy of his country with regard to Afghanistan. It is absolutely clear that Ghulam Ishaq Khan, in collusion with some leaders from the 'Alliance of Seven', particularly its extremist part, plans to include our motherland into the composition of Pakistan. Pakistan's military and reactionary circles wish to swallow our country and turn it into a fifth province of Pakistan".

"As everybody know, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar had also been talking about including Afghanistan into Pakistan under the guise of a 'confederation'. This policy dating from the times of the cold war is aimed at involving Afghanistan into aggressive regional military-political blocs to which it is now intended to impart a new form by Afghanistan's annexation to Pakistan."

"It is apparent that the special services and the military leaders of Pakistan, in collusion with crooks and traitors of the motherland, intend to put an end to Aghanistan's glorious history dating back five millenia. For this purpose it is now attempted to hold a so-called consultative council of opposition groups under the pressure and strict control of the Pakistani Special Services and military to create the so-called Islamic Afghan Government in accordance with Pakistan's designs and will".

"Independent Afghanistan remains an eyesore to the followers of colonialists", Najibullah went on to say. "This is why various plots are now made in Pakistan in order to undermine and liquidate the foundations of national unity and erase independent Afghanistan from the political map of the world".

"The plan of Afghanistan's annexation by Pakistan is a conspiracy which is directed not only against the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan or the current government of the Republic of Afghanistan," he said. "By this conspiracy Afghanistan's historic enemy faces us with another serious trial. Afghanistan's very existence as an independent state is now in jeopardy. Can the people allow that this freedom-loving country should be no more, that the motherland should lead a sorry and humiliating existence under Pakistan's rule? No, never".

Najibullah expressed the confidence that all patriotically minded Afghans regardless of their nationality and of which side they take in the internal conflict should be waging a joint struggle for the preservation of sovereign and free Afghanistan.

Addressing Afghan refugees, Najibullah said: "You have been living for a long time abroad, away from the motherland, and you witness now that behind your backs, but in your name, various groups in the military barracks of Rawalpindi try to make a traitorous deal with regard to our country. So burst the chains of slavery and exile that shackle you and declare aganst external and internal enemies of your motherland".

"We are confident that peaceful forces in the region and the world, upon learning about such adventuristic plans threatening peace and security in our region will not allow their implementation", the president said in conclusion.

"We are also confident that Afghanistan's friends abroad will not remain indifferent to such anti-Afghan plots and will give assistance to the Afghan people in frustrating these intrigues".

"The government of the Republic of Afghanistan, condemning sinister plans of Pakistani militarists, urge all patriots to remain vigilant and be ready to protect their country", Najibullah said.

Pakistani Units Said To Be Infiltrating Afghanistan

LD1302083788 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is almost over. Only small groups remain in Kabul and some other regions, but all of them are to return home by 15th February. Soviet soldiers were to leave Kabul by plane but were detained because of heavy snowfall. The commander of the Soviet troops contingent, General Boris Gromov, said Soviet troops were handing over to the Afghan side 23 military camps with facilities worth more than R40 million, an equivalent of about $70 million dollars.

Meanwhile Pakistani units are said to be crossing into the territory of Afghanistan. Some reports say that several thousand Pakistani servicemen wearing civilian clothes have crossed into the country to help the opposition seize power in the city of Jalalabad, Nangarhar Province.

The president of Afghanistan, Najibullah, also said there is an unprecedented concentration of Pakistani troops in the border regions.

Actively Aiding Rebels

LD1302045489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0954 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 13 Feb (TASS)—Judging from reports from the eastern Afghan Province of Nangarhar, 1,600 regular Pakistani troops and 200 militia, as well as long-range artillery batteries, have been transferred to the town of Landi Kotal bordering on Afghanistan. An assault batallion has been positioned in the inhabited settlement of Chombar Kande [name as received]; and 1,600 militia and 320 soldiers with 30 military vehicles have been positioned in the districts of Kuh-e-ghandi [name as received], Ali Masjid, and Shalmanai. Servicemen from these subunits, dressed in Afghan national costume, are actively helping opposition detachments conduct operations against Afghan Government forces. According to reports coming in, some Pakistani soldiers have been killed. An artillery batallion deployed in shalmanai is giving fire support to rebel groupings operating in the Kama Daka [name as received] District on the territory of Afghanistan.

Foreign advisors are constantly arriving at the Ghaziabad state farm in the Province of Nangarhar, which has been seized by an opposition detachment, in order to give assistance in organizing the seige of Jalababad.

Similar information is also coming from other Afghan provinces. Thus, four U.S. and two French advisors have been transferred from Pakistan to (?Helmand) with a cargo of weapons, and 13 Arab advisors are operating in the area of the provincial center of Maidanshar (Bardak) [name as received].

Pakistan Behind Rebel Plan

LD1202190789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] The recent speech by the Pakistani president on the creation of a united confederation has given rise to a wave of protest all over Afghanistan. Aleksandr Shkirando, our correspondent in Kabul, reports:

[Begin Shkirando recording] The plan proposed by Ghulam Ishaq Khan is (?not something) new and unsual for the Afghans. There is a precedent from 4 months ago; the same kind of plan was proposed by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, and not without Pakistan's advice, one would think. Both then and now this plan envisions the inclusion of Pakistan in a confederation with Afghanistan. Unfortunately, its authors did not take an interest in what the Afghans thought, or whether they want such a confederation. The numerous protest meetings and marches in various provinces in the country in recent days attest to the fact that the Afghans, with their rich, 5,000-year history, are against such an alien state formation.

In my view, the Pakistani leadership never really had particular hopes for general support from the Afghan people. For this reason it turned to the armed Afghan opposition to implement its venture. Thus, during a recent news conference Ghulam Ishaq Khan stated that in return for the military, financial, and political aid that Pakistan gives the mujahidin movement, the armed Afghan opposition must agree to Pakistan's participation in the formation of a new Afghanistan. In actual fact, however, Pakistan is striving to transform Afghanistan into its fifth state, by relying on the most reactionary wing of the Afghan opposition. It would thus seem to be no coincidence that a large number of Pakistani troops have recently concentrated along the Afghan-Pakistan border.

There is another circumstance of considerable importance which I would like to note. Quite recently Pakistan was, together with a number of Western countries, intensely fanning a propaganda campaign about the Soviet Union's intention of annexing the territory of Afghanistan. Now that the groundlessness of these fabrications is being confirmed from day to day, Pakistan is openly declaring its intention to do what it illegitimately accused our country of doing. [end recording]

Afghan Statement on Talks With Opposition

LD1202192489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1820 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 12 Feb—Following careful and objective study of the situation in the country, the Government of Afghanistan has proclaimed and is implementing a practical policy of national reconciliation, which serves the cause of ending the war and removing all contradictions between Afghans, says a statement by the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan circulated by the BAKHTAR agency today. This humane policy has created favorable conditions for involving many opposition groups in the process of restoring peace and tranquility in the country. With the proclamation of the policy of reconciliation, many fellow countrymen who were forced to leave their homeland have returned to their homes. However, for various reasons the majority of Afghan refugees and oppositionists are still unable to return to a peaceful life. Talks and contacts with some representatives of large and small detachments of the opposition have shown that they are supporters of national reconciliation. At the same time, according to their statements, their involvement in this process would become possible in the event of Soviet troops withdrawing from Afghanistan. Another section of the opposition has refused to enter into talks with us and is continuing to conduct combat operations leading to the extermination of their fellow countrymen.

The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan, the statement says, has done everything in its power to foster the return of Soviet troops to their homeland, and today all citizens of Afghanistan are witnesses to the fact that, in accordance with the Geneva Accords, Soviet troops have left Afghanistan. In recent days some commanders of the opposition armed units have entered into talks with representatives of the authorities, stating that the absence of Soviet troops in the country makes possible their participation in the process of a peaceful settlement and a speedy end to the fratricide. They consider a continuation of the bloodshed to be no longer a "jihad"—a holy war—at all, but the extermination of Muslims by Muslims. Fellow countrymen living abroad in refugee camps also think that a continuation of the war will only lead to the extermination of their sons and brothers.

Some opposition unit commanders, the statement notes, are continuing to await instructions and decisions from the Peshawar leaders, who are claiming, together with the Pakistani authorities, to manage the fate of the homeland. But practice shows that all of their decisions, advanced under pressure of the Pakistani military, have been unable to secure a just solution to the Afghan problem. And how can the interests of the commanders of armed groups operating in Afghanistan be represented by those who are currently in Rawalpindi under the fixed attention and supervision of the Pakistani military?

The Government of Afghanistan believes that all issues connected with the fate of the Afghan people must be resolved in Afghanistan itself and not beyond its borders. It appeals to all commanders of armed opposition formations within the country to enter into direct contacts with representatives of the authorities with the aim of seeking possible ways of stopping the bloodshed. The government is prepared to consider all viewpoints, proposals, and demands, and after holding talks with the opposition to make joint decisions on them.

The government states that all commanders and members of armed formations who enter into contact with the authorities are guaranteed complete safety and inviolability. All state bodies are instructed to take practical measures for holding talks with the opposition. All those who join in the process of national reconciliaton will be guaranteed the right to take part in managing the country's affairs and jobs in various spheres of the national economy. They will also be provided with material and financial assistance.

For its part, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan says it will do everything in its power to bring about a most speedy end to the war. We will not allow anyone to play with the fate of the Afghan people, the fate of refugees, and the fate of the opposition. With the departure of Soviet troops, all Afghans must forget grievances and enmity and together defend the honor of their motherland from the machinations of its enemies.

TRUD Reports Efforts to Release POW's

LD1102103689 Moscow TASS in English 1016 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—TRUD newspaper reported on Saturday, with reference to the Soviet Public Coordination Committee for the Release of Soviet Servicemen Taken Prisoner in Afghanistan, that 313 people are listed as missing.

According to preliminary data, the P.O.W.'s are held by the Afghan opposition but there is no exact information as to who concretely is held captive and where.

Three former Soviet servicemen returned from the United States recently, the newspaper recalls. About twenty other servicemen are in Western countries.

Many foreign organisations, including the international committee for the rescue of Soviet prisoners-of-war in Afghanistan, help in the search for those missing.

The committee, of which Mikhail Shemyakin, a Russian artist residing in the United States, is one of the organisers, has established contacts with representatives of the Afghan opposition and is discussing possibilities for the release of Soviet prisoners-of-war.

Efforts To Free POW's Outlined

LD1102171289 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] With the Soviet Army withdrawal from Afghanistan nearly over, a pressing issue is the return home of Soviet prisoners of war held by Afghan rebels. What's the progress on this issue? Here is commentator Vyacheslav Terekhov:

[Terekhov in Russian fading into English translation] I recall a recent meeting with five young fellows who had gone through the horrors of captivity and returned home thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Government, diplomats, and army officers, as well as those of the International Red Cross. They went through an awful experience. The five were: Abdul Halik Zhurayev, Konstantin Mityilkov, Valeriy Gendenko, Muhammad Yaskuliyev, and Gennadiy Cheryev. They were told in captivity that if they returned home they would be victimized. Threats were made to kill them outright if they kept asking to return home. But the five young fellows kept thinking about going home. They were certain, into the bargain, that Soviet officials were looking for them. And they were right.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Yuriy Alekseyev, has said in an interview that Soviet officials have long been searching rigorously for the Soviet soldiers missing-in-action or taken prisoners of war. One could often hear Afghan rebel spokesmen refusing to hold talks about the release of the prisoners by claiming that the war in Afghanistan was continuing. Now that the Soviet troops have almost pulled out, the prisoners of war must be set free. We came into contact, Yuriy Alekseyev said, with the Afghan opposition and representatives of all the countries eager to assist us in resolving this matter. The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, took up the question during his recent talks in Islamabad. The Pakistani president, Ghulam Ishaq Khan, assured the Soviet foreign minister that he would give his help.

And now we call the attention of all prisoners of war, who may hear us at this moment, or who may pass on the information to others. Gregoriy Shtonov appeals to you on behalf of the former servicemen who fought in Afghanistan:

[Shtonov in Russian fading into report in English on his comments] I'd like to tell you, Gregoriy Shtonov said, that the question of Soviet prisoners of war in Afghanistan has already evoked broad response. None of us who served in Afghanistan, none of the people here believe that the Soviet prisoners of war can be left in the lurch. The Soviet procurator general has announced an amnesty to all servicemen who were taken prisoner in Afghanistan. We're looking forward to your return home. We are ready to do everything we can to ensure your speedy return. We'll not back down until all Soviet soldiers taken prisoner in Afghanistan return home.

Chervov on Original Decision To Send Troops

LD1102000489 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Interview with Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, "senior official" of the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, by commentator Mikhail Kommissar; date, place not given—recorded; Chervov speaks in Russian with superimposed English translation]

[Text] [Announcer] The 9-year-old bloody war in Afghanistan is about to end with the withdrawal of Soviet troops to be completed by the 15th, under the Geneva accords. Our commentator Mikhail Kommissar has talked about the sources and lessons of the war to a senior official at the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, Colonel General Nikolay Chervov. As the last few Soviet soldiers are pulling out of Afghanistan, he recalls how the Afghan problem emerged. There have been publications in our press that even not all members of the Political Bureau were aware of the decision to introduce Soviet troops in that country. It is admitted in party documents that the decision was not quite balanced. The political, economic, and even geographic realities of Afghanistan were ignored.

[Chervov] Yes, actually you've taken words out of my mouth by saying that when the problem emerged a whole number of factors were ignored, although it was necessary to take them into account. Presumably not the best option for solving the Afghan problem was chosen. Possibly there were other options, including political ones. Not all things were weighed carefully, obviously.

[Kommissar] Can you say who and how took the decision to introduce our troops in Afghanistan?

[Chervov] Obviously I don't know how the decision was made in the Politburo. I didn't take part in the decision-making, though I know that it involved directly the defense minister and the chief of General Staff.

[Kommissar] Can you tell our audience who were the defense minister and chief of staff then?

[Chervov] The defense minister was Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov and the chief of staff Marshall Nikolay Ogarkov. Of course, things should have been weighed better and discussed in greater detail. Only then should the decision have been taken.

[Kommissar] What in your opinion was the thing that influenced the choice of the military method?

[Chervov] Apparently the military means were overestimated. It was believed it would be easy to solve by military means all the problems in such a small country. But one behest of Lenin was ignored: Political means should be used first, and only then military force, not the other way round. On the other hand, presumably one factor was the very good relations we had with Afghanistan since way back in 1921, the time of Lenin. Therefore, the repeated appeals of the Afghan Government for help could not be ignored. Nevertheless, I repeat, the state of affairs was not weighed properly. There were other options open beside the military one to assist Afghanistan.

[Kommissar] And now, one more question: What will happen next? What is your view of the coming developments in Afghanistan?

[Chervov] The whole world knows today that the Soviet Union is strictly abiding by the Geneva accords. By 15 February it will have withdrawn its troops. It's very difficult to say what the developments will be. I wouldn't dare to give an unequivocal answer. I can only make this point: We have done our best to help the Afghan people, the Afghan Government, to ensure security and to protect their interests. We have made a big effort to train the Afghan Government Army. We have shared our experience and have jointly taken part in a number of military operations. We have shown how the state should be defended. Personnel for the Afghan Army have been trained at our military schools and academies. A large amount of work has been done in the past 9 or 10 years. In fact, the Afghan Government Army is combat-ready.

We have given it extensive assistance with arms, too. Afghan soldiers, officers, and generals have a fine knowledge of the combat vehicles and weapons. Needless to say, big economic aid has also been given to the Afghan people, to the Afghan Government. In short, the Soviet Union has done its best. That was admitted by President Najibullah in a recent speech, and he said that the USSR had indeed done its utmost, so (?that) after the pullout of the Soviet troops the Afghan Government and its Army will have a chance and the ability to defend their interests. Let's proceed from that statement. Anyway, I do proceed from that.

[Kommissar] And now, back to the opening of this program: Our people have wasted more than 9 years in a bloody, needless war. Can we say we've drawn a lesson from that ill-considered move? Can we be certain that nothing of the sort will happen again?

[Chervov] Yes, I think we can. And I have quite a strong argument for saying that, that a proper law has been passed in the Soviet Union and such decisions will be taken only at a Congress of People's Deputies. In the amendments to our Constitution adopted last year it is fixed down definitely that the decision to use troops abroad can only be taken at the level of the Supreme Soviet, our parliament. This rules out willful, voluntaristic decisions, and this is the guarantee that such war won't happen again.

Soviet Actions in Afghanistan Questioned

LD1002214389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 10 Feb 89

["International Situation—Questions and Answers" program presented by foreign policy commentator Igor Surguchev, with Nadezhda Ryasova, French correspondent Oleg Maksimenko, Sergey Pravdin, and Yuriy Isayev]

[Excerpt] [Surguchev] Hello comrades. The Afghan subject, or more accurately the subject of our troops' participation in the civil war in Afghanistan, continues to move our listeners deeply, although the date for total withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent from that country has been known for a long time, and it is steadily approaching. By 15 February, in accordance with the Geneva accords, all our troops will have left Afghanistan. Nonetheless, letters on this subject—and there are considerable numbers of them—are notable for their particular passion, controversial nature, and diverse opinions.

For example, Comrade Davletov from Tomsk begins his letter with obviously rhetorical questions. I quote: When will an end be put to the criminal Brezhnevite Afghan adventure? By what right are Soviet Armed forces conducting an undeclared war against the Afghan people? Well, as to an end, everything is clear—it is quite near. I think the decision of the Soviet leadership on the troop withdrawal speaks for itself, and I have no doubt that the masses of our people fully support this decision. You see, the sending of troops into Afghanistan, according to the view that is widespread throughout our country, was an act that was unjustified and not thought through, involving us in a difficult and protracted internal Afghan conflict.

All the same, I would not start terming the actions of Soviet troops a war against the Afghan people. The Afghan people split into two camps, and our soldiers fought on the side of those who supported the April Revolution. Sacrificing themselves, they defended peaceful towns and villages against attacks by counterrevolutionary forces who were and who continue to kill their compatriots—old men, women, and children—and who are condemning civilians to hunger and hardship. It is essential to see the true face of the intransigent Afghan opposition in order to correctly understand and appraise the role of our troops in Afghanistan.

But of course war is war. It has brutal laws, and Soviet soldiers were also forced to act in accordance with them. By what right, asks Comrade Davletov, did our troops appear in Afghanistan? It is hard to imagine that he didn't know that the Afghan Government asked our country for military assistance. It is another matter whether it was necessary to satisfy this request and interfere in internal Afghan affairs. It is clear to me that it wasn't necessary, and on this point my view coincides with the opinion of Comrade Davletov.

Aleksey Mikhaylovich—Unfortunately the surname is indecipherable—incidentally, also from Tomsk, considers the problem from quite different positions. He, as though not knowing about the withdrawal of our troops, writes: Can't we possibly give our lads in Afghanistan good weapons? You see, we do already have them. If it were up to me, I would flatten those dushman together with the mountains. Here, as you can see, we have utterly bellicose heat, a stake on military force as a means of resolving all problems. It is a pity that Aleksey Mikhaylovich and people like him do not ponder a natural question: Is it necessary for us to take part in the civil war in Afghanistan? Is it not better for the Afghans themselves to sort out their own affairs?

Meanwhile, the answer to this cardinal question has to all intents and purposes already been given, and in a few days' time the blood of our soldiers will at last stop flowing on a foreign land. However, economic and other humane assistance from our country to Afghanistan, to the Afghan people, will not cease, for it convincingly demonstrates our internationalism and friendly feeling toward the Afghans.

However, Viktor Kruglov from Dushanbe maintains that we and the Afghans are enemies, and he says it is not necessary to help them. This is the view he expresses in his letter. I think Comrade Kruglov is identifying the Afghan people with the counterrevolution to no purpose. One can confidently say that the majority of civilians in

Afghanistan are not involved with the deaths of our soldiers and there are no grounds whatsoever for considering all Afghans to be our enemies, as the listener from Dushanbe is doing. Naturally, our assistance is being sent not to the dushman but the civilian population that is suffering from the burdens of war. [passage omitted]

USSR-Iran Ties Entering 'Significant Thaw'

LD1202145189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Rostovtsev commentary]

[Text] February 11th marks 10 years of the Iranian revolution. The shah regime was brought down on that day in 1979. Yuriy Rostovtsev analyzes the state and prospects of Soviet-Iranian relations and this is what he writes.

There have been ups and downs in relations between the Soviet Union and Iran. There have been misunderstandings and errors. Even now there are third forces wishing to quarrel [as heard] two neighboring states destined to live in peace and cooperate geographically and historically. But no matter how bilateral relations have shaped out, this country's fundamental approach has remained unchanged. Our cornerstone principle, the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev has said, is the right of each nation to be the master of its own destiny, and we respect the choice made by the Iranian people.

Soviet-Iranian ties are entering a period of significant thaw, largely for two reasons: first, a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, a cease-fire in which the Soviet Union has played a significant role; second, the Geneva agreements providing for an end to outside interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from there by 15 February. This opens favorable opportunities for a political dialogue and an exchange of views on world and regional problems, and this is borne out by Imam Khomeyni's personal message sent to Mikhail Gorbachev early last month.

Although Iran and the Soviet Union have (?different) structures and ideologies, this is not an obstacle to giving their relations a new quality. Where there's a will there's a way. It's good that not only Moscow but Tehran, too, share this desire today.

Commentary Urges Iran Dialogue

LD1102164289 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Saturday, 11 February has been marked as Revolution Day in Iran. The shah's regime was deposed exactly 10 years ago. Now a commentary from our observer:

The Soviet Union and Iran are neighbors whose relations go down into the ages. There have been some traditions in our relations that are clear indications that the two countries have the chance to live in peace as good neighbors and to cooperate for mutal advantage. For some years Soviet-Iranian relations have been marked by ups and downs. Trade and economic ties have been irregular. In politics, too, there've been rises and falls. Third forces have been acting to set the two neighboring countries at loggerheads. It is well known that the world is amazingly complicated, contradictory, and diversified now. It is no longer possible to paint it only in two colors—black and white, or red and white.

In this situation the main thing is the right of every nation to manage its affairs for itself. For this very reason the Soviet Union has had respect for the Iranian people's choice. The Soviet diplomatic line toward Iran has been dictated by that exactly. During the Gulf War the USSR maintained contacts with both warring nations; it strove for a peaceful political settlement. More than that, the Soviet Union decisively opposed attempts of the United States to enforce sanctions against Iran, to resolve the conflict militarily.

This stand has proved to be the right one. Early last month Moscow welcomed the personal envoy of the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeyni, Ayatollah Javadi-Amoli. He brought to Moscow a personal message from the Iranian leader for Mikhail Gorbachev, the first such message ever sent by Imam Khomeyni to the head of another state. The envoy exchanged views with Soviet officials on wide-ranging issues of relations between the two nations. Cooperation was one such topic. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about the visit to Moscow by the high-level Iranian group as a good sign in the development of Soviet-Iranian relations. Now that Iran has entered a period of peace, new prospects open up for mutually beneficial relations between that country and the USSR, as well as for a political dialogue between them.

'Dictator' Khomeyni, Executions Criticized

LD1202215189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1457 GMT 12 Feb 89

[From the "International Panorama" program; presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Excerpts] [Bovin] And now an anniversary: On 11 and 12 February 1979 an armed uprising took place in Tehran and the anti-shah revolution triumphed. Much has occurred in these 10 years, all sorts of things. The situation in Iran remains difficult, contradictory, and ambiguous.

[Vsevolod Solovyev] The information coming out of Iran lately has been largely colored in tragic, dark shades. In 5 or 6 months several thousand political prisoners have been executed here. According to one report 12,000; according to another report 2,000. Only the butchers themselves know the exact figure. For their part, they do not know why their workload was so heavy in the autumn and winter of 1988-89. Only the powers that be can say why. So they say: These executions were carried out on orders from above. In the Islamic Republic of Iran this explanation is quite sufficient. For as the 88-year-old Ayatollah Khomeyni claims, God himself speaks through his lips as the spiritual leader of Iran.

Ten years ago the ayatollah said: The shah must go. Sure enough, Shah Reza Pahlavi left the country. [passage omitted] Khomeyni believed that Muslim society was suffering from a grave illness and that only a surgical operation could save it from inevitable death. In his opinion, Islam is a tree that can only grow if it is watered by young blood. Muslims had, for far too long, been afraid of death, preferring to lead a trivial life under the yoke of tyranny. Khomeyni wanted to make them believe that they should strive for death and reject life. Life gives rise to depravity and sin. Death, though, promises a cleansing and raises man to the status of martyr. A man who is not only prepared to die, but who desperately craves this, cannot fear prison, beatings, or other punishments. Khomeyni transferred the ideas of Islam onto the political plane. When he came to power, the ayatollah genuinely cursed the shah. He brought with him the expectation of change. Thus, he promised, for example, that women would gain equal rights and that the press would enjoy total freedom. However, each of his pledges was accompanied by formulations such as these: in accordance with Islam or on the basis of the Koran. Ten years ago, not everyone attached significance to these provisos. [passage omitted]

Having turned into a dictatorship of the clergy, the regime caused dissatisfaction that threatened to spill over into open resistance. When it started, the war with Iraq corrected this: Many of those who opposed the government considered that the war must come first and everything else second. The war reinforced the religious fanaticism and the cult of death in Iranian society. The more people die for our cause, the stronger we become, said the ayatollah, and his words were listened to and heeded by the Iranians.

The world called this the senseless war. The world, but not Iran. Khomeyni set the goal of (?introducing) a religious model for the state system in Baghdad that was identical to that in Tehran. He issued a decree that allowed boys over the age of 12 years to volunteer for the front without parental permission. The boys were sure they would have a place in paradise if they died on the battlefield. Tens or hundreds of thousands hurled themselves into the war against Iraq with their heads swathed in red bands bearing the slogan: Long live Khomeyni. Many of them were given plastic keys to paradise that were made to order in Taiwan. The slogan of "War to its Victorious Conclusion" gradually changed into the slogan "War to Complete Destruction." However, things did not reach complete destruction. The war with no victors and no vanquished ended last August. The decision to accept UN Security Council Resolution 597 [as heard] was much harder to take than poison. But a council of experts proved to me that the decision was essential, said Khomeyni.

The war claimed a million Iranian lives. Atop tombstones is a saying of Khomeyni's: Sleep in peace, martyrs! No one will deny you your victory.

The war has drained the country's economy. It has drained the patience of the people. As many in Tehran now admit, it has dissipated its revolutionary energy. Tehran has decided that an Islam that persuades by example must replace the Islam that persuaded by the sword. The country has before it a new sacred battle designed to turn Iran into a model state in the economic sense, as well as in the moral sense, says the Iranian leader.

A struggle is going on between two groups in the country's leadership: the moderates and the radicals. The argument between them is over to what extent the state should intervene in the development of the economy and to what extent it should open up to the outside world. No one can say how and when this argument will end. [video shows corpses hanging; photos of political prisoners; documentary footage from 10 years ago of pictures of the shah being burned, crowds chanting, Khomeyni arriving back in Iran and speaking to the crowds; troops marching over the U.S. flag; frenzied women shaking their fists; the U.S. flag being burned; black-veiled women firing pistols at targets; funerals; a fountain spouting what appears to be blood]

[Excerpts] [Bovin] Yes, the arguments go on and will continue to go on, and will become more urgent the more topical becomes the question as to what will follow Khomeyni. Here lies the irony of history: The revolution in Iran was one of the rare truly popular revolutions of the 20th century. The masses arose and took to the streets and the shah proved impotent against them. On 16 January, he took the wheel of his plane himself, took off, and left Tehran. The trouble for the revolution, its internal weakness, lay in the fact that it did not have a political leader or political vanguard in the modern understanding of these words. The bourgeois parties had discredited themselves by cooperation with the shah. The left-wing parties and groups had insufficient influence over the masses. Politics, though, like nature, abhors a vacuum and the mullahs came to the head of the revolution. Power was transferred into the hands of the top Shiite clergy and the great Ayatollah Khomeyni became the undisputed leader and, essentially, dictator.

Of course, Khomeyni is no common figure. After a meeting with the imam, the famous Egyptian journalist Haykal wrote as follows: The imam believes that he has begun the fight of truth against falsehood and good against evil. He is a person of the 7th century who has burst onto the 20th century with the speed of a flying bullet impelled by the forces of the past. Who knows what this bullet will shatter now or in the future?

For the moment, I am afraid Iran has suffered the most so far. The country is now coming around after the war with Iraq. (?Matters are not at a turning point). As you have heard, executions remain a daily event and—I do not know—there was a report in January that Ayatollah Hoseyn 'Ali Montazeri, who has been named Khomeyni's official successor, wrote a letter to the latter in which he called for an end to the bloodshed and called political executions a sin. I do not know what the great ayatollah said in reply. Moreover, as you realize, the internal affairs of Iran are a matter for the Iranians themselves, and ultimately they will deal with everything themselves.

Iran, as you know, is our neighbor, and in general we are in favor of good-neighborly relations with that country, although we could not fail to notice the highly unfriendly statements that have fairly frequently been heard from Tehran. Iran's foreign policy has now, I think, become more balanced, and there is less talk there of exporting the revolution, although the matter has not, as they say, been taken off the agenda. No less recently than this week, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati said the following: We have a concept and we intend to continue the policy of exporting the revolution. This does not mean, however, that we are planning to export the revolution by force of arms.

Yes, of course, the times have passed when, say, Khomeyni called for the creation of a 10 million-strong Islamic rapid deployment force. He operates in other ways now, trying, for example, to make use of the tens of thousands of pilgrims who set out for Mecca every year for political ends, precisely for exporting the revolution. This has led to major scandals and conflicts with Saudi Arabia, where Iranians have been banned from engaging in political agitation. The leader of the Iranian pilgrims took offense at this and asked: Why can political matters be discussed in the White House and the Kremlin but not in Mecca? Why are we prevented from proclaiming—the slogan "Death to the Soviets" in Mecca just as we are in the Kremlin?

Well, those who hid beneath such slogans have now evidently learned something from the years and something from the war with Iraq. In general, I think, there is a more and more perceptible desire in the country to bring about order, all the same and not necessarily in the prison sense of those words.

Commentator Views Iran Revolution Anniversary

NC1002154489 Moscow in Persian to Iran
1100 GMT 9 Feb 89

[From the "On the Waves of Radio Moscow" feature; commentary by Aleksandr Batev]

[Text] Iran is marking the 10th anniversary of the victory of the 11 February revolution at a time when the war has stopped and there are peace talks with Iraq. Aleksandr Batev, our political analyst who is a regular commentator on this feature, says:

It is a time for celebration and, at the same time, for summing up what has been achieved. I do not know what others think, but as far as I am concerned the recent days in Iran have been devoted not to celebrations, but to an assessment of what objectives have and have not been fulfilled and why. As Iranian leaders themselves confess, one cannot say that all the objectives of the 11 February revolution have been achieved. First and foremost are promises relating to economic growth, self-sufficiency, and cultural development on a strong basis.

One should not forget, however, that the war prevented advancement in these areas. Yes, the war inflicted immense damage on Iran, and hundreds of billions of dollars are needed for reconstruction. However, in Tehran much is now being said about purely domestic obstacles to progress and development that have been created in recent years. As reports received from Tehran indicate, discussions on this issue will, sooner or later, concentrate on the role and place enjoyed by Islam, the ideals of which inspired the 11 February revolution. Some of the Iranian leaders support reforms in this field to enable them to solve the country's current problems. Ayatollah Montazeri, Ayatollah Khomeyni's spiritual deputy, stated this in one of his letters, saying: Shortages, injustice, inflation, the absence of sufficient income, the absence of severe [word indistinct] in the pricing system—something the Iranian Government itself created—as well as inexperience and incompetence and excessive intervention by organizations, have completely paralyzed the country's economy. Ayatollah Montazeri once again expressed concern over holding celebrations on this occasion.

The fact that such remarks are being made during this year's ceremonies signifies the acuteness of the problems that Ayatollah Montazeri has pointed to. It is true that things have been more fruitful in the foreign policy field [passage indistinct] In addition to the end of the war on the Iran-Iraq front, it should be noted that Iran's relations with foreign countries have recently improved greatly. One can clearly see how a specific change has taken place in the tone of Iran's foreign policy. Iran's Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati recently commented on these changes and said that Iran has given up the compulsory export of the Islamic revolution. This immediately led to a positive international reaction. The field of foreign relations—compared with the field of domestic relations—can certainly be reformed much more. However, the successes achieved in the field of foreign policy also help to motivate those who support reforms within the country.

Shevchenko Attends Iranian Embassy Reception

LD1002222189 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT
10 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the Soviet Union Naser

Heirani-Nobari on Friday held a reception on the occasion of the national holiday—the Revolution Day tenth anniversary.

Present at the reception were Vice President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Valentina Shevchenko, Minister for Foreign Economic relations of the USSR Konstantin Katyushev, other officials.

Perpetrators of Beirut Embassy Blast Unknown

PM1302095189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "Blast at Consulate"]

[Text] A powerful blast was heard on the evening of 9 February at the USSR consulate in the Lebanese capital. A shell exploded by the concrete wall surrounding the consulate.

The protective wall erected around the Soviet Consulate after Islamic extremists' threats to blow up the USSR Embassy and adjacent structures saved the official and residential premises of the building housing the consulate from destruction. There were no casulaties. Nor were there any casualties among the servicemen of the Syrian contingent of the pan-Arab forces in Lebanon who are guarding the USSR Embassy.

So far it is unclear who perpetrated this deed.

Shevardnadze To Offer New Mideast Proposals

JN1302074689 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0635 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 13 Feb (WAKH)—Abu Dhabi-based AL-ITTIHAD today said Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will present, during his Arab tour to begin mid-February, new Soviet ideas to remove the obstacles to the convening of an international Middle East peace conference. Citing informed Arab sources in Cairo, AL-ITTIHAD said the Soviet ideas are related to the methods and procedures on whose bases the international conference would convene. The Soviet ideas include compromises regarding Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territory in exchange for guaranteeing its security. The sources added that Shevardnadze will discuss these ideas with the leaders of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Iraq before discussing them with his American counterpart James Baker during their scheduled meeting in March.

Israeli Favors Soviet Role in Peace Process

LD1102141989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens has spoken in favor of the USSR participating in the process of a Near East settlement. In an interview published in THE JERUSALEM POST, the minister declared that in his view the Soviet Union could play a useful role in the peace process in the region. At the same time, Arens once again expressed his opposition to the convocation of an international conference on the Near East and vigorously advocated direct talks between Israel and the Arab states.

Economic, Scientific Protocol Signed With Iraq

LD1202112589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Baghdad, 11 Feb (TASS)—The 18th session of the permanent Soviet-Iraqi Commission on Economic and Scientific and Technical Cooperation ended today with the signing of a protocol. The Soviet delegation was headed by V.A. Dinkov, USSR minister of the petroleum industry, and the Iraqi delegation by I.A. al-Chalabi, minister of oil.

Over the course of a week the sides discussed matters related to further development of cooperation between the two countries in power engineering, the oil and gas industry, irrigation, agriculture, and trade.

The sitting of the permanent commission was conducted in an atmosphere of friendship, which links our two countries, the head of the Iraqi delegation said at the protocol signing ceremony. He recalled that in the period that has elapsed since the previous session, agreements have been signed on the joint construction of major projects that are of exceptionally great importance for Iraq's national economy, and he expressed confidence that the fruitful cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop successfully.

Vinogradov on Middle East, 1973 War

JN0402084089 Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 4 Feb 89 pp 1, 20

[By Dr Salah 'Abd al-Latif]

[Text] Cairo—Mr Vinogradov, RSFSR foreign minister and Soviet ambassador in Cairo during the 1973 war, has disclosed new secrets about this war. In an exclusive statement to AL-RA'Y, he said that His Majesty King Husayn proposed more than once to President al-Sadat that Jordan join the 1973 war, but he refused while President Hafiz al-Asad agreed. He added: To this day I do not understand Al-Sadat's refusal.

Vinogradov said: There is much that has not yet been said about this war. It is not necessary for me to talk about it, but Kissinger has lied a lot. There are unreasonable and incomprehensible things. Why did they allow the Israelis to cross to the west bank of the Suez Canal during the war? Why did the Israeli tanks find themselves in the west bank of the canal after the [Deversoir] bulge? The military plan the Soviet Union supervised took into consideration and prepared for this bulge. When I asked President Al-Sadat the reason for this, he said it was a political maneuver. I do not understand why the 101-km talks were held, and why the resolution on the withdrawal of the Israeli forces on 22 October was not implemented, although we provided President Al-Sadat with a photograph of the situation on 22 October?

This was the answer of the Soviet official to a question by AL-RA'Y on whether he still had secrets about the October War, as he was at that time his country's ambassador to Egypt.

He was interviewed during his recent visit to Egypt to attend a seminar on Arab-Soviet dialogue, arranged by the Egyptian Committee for Asian-African Solidarity.

Asked about the Soviet stand toward peace in the Middle East, Vinogradov, whose answers were translated into Arabic by his Soviet interpreter, said: We are working toward a speedy peace in the Middle East for various reasons: First, the aggressor cannot be allowed to emerge victorious, and military operations in an area close to the Soviet Union should not be allowed. Generally speaking, every regional conflict demands that other countries stand to one side. We, therefore, will continue our efforts. But peace can only be just and comprehensive. If the Palestinian state is established without the Golan heights returning to Syria, will this be a just peace? If Israel does not withdraw from southern Lebanon and the West bank, will it be a just peace? Peace should be comprehensive. It has many aspects. The international peace conference, therefore, should be attended by many countries. The problem cannot be solved unilaterally. And for the conference to succeed, the big powers should provide assistance. The participation of the big powers is necessary, and there is no way out except through the international conference.

In light of my political experience, I can imagine how an international conference should convene. The conference should be continuous, and it must deal with general and specific issues. The sessions of the conference should be general and bilateral. Our stand on the arrangement of the conference is flexible. If I take part in the conference, I will suggest drafting the final documents. The peace document and other documents on borders, reparations to the Palestinians, and guarantees must be included. Therefore, all parties must come to the conference to resolve the problems, not to talk about peace.

On the Israeli and American stands, the Soviet minister said: Each country should take a political decision on this problem. The PNC decided to reach peace with Israel, and Israel must reach peace with the Palestinians. However, the Israelis have not made such a decision, and I am afraid the Americans have not made the decision. I believe that American policy has no plan. They talk about peace, and at the same time they threaten others. How can I understand this? There is a strategic cooperation agreement between America and Israel. It is not unlikely that Israel will embark on military acts. Otherwise, what is the objective of this agreement and these weapons? I am not aware of the military plans, but if the Israelis embark on military acts, they will become even more isolated than they now are.

Asked about the development of Soviet-Arab relations, the Soviet official said: We want to expand relations with the Arab countries in all econmic, technological, and political fields. We seek to improve relations with the Gulf states. This is natural and should have already taken place. The USSR harbors goodwill toward the Arabs. We have no interest in interfering in the internal affairs of others. We also respect the other countries' systems. Any country's system concerns that country only. Our objective is to strengthen the Arab stand and reinforce peace efforts in this region, which is close to the USSR.

The Soviet minister added that so far there is no change in our stand on Israel. Our stand will change when Israel changes its stand and withdraws from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967.

Answering a question on the USSR's restoration of the Soviet consular mission's activities in Israel, he said that this is a consular exchange because a large number of people carrying Soviet passports and a large quantity of Soviet property, particularly that of the Russian Church, is in Israel.

On Soviet Jews' immigration to Israel, the Soviet minister said: We now have freer immgration laws, and we respect human rights. We only keep those who have access to state secrets. These people must remain in the country a number of years before immigrating. Soviet Jews are allowed to immigrate in accordance with the law as long as they have no access to state secrets.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Sierra Leone Releases Soviet Research Ship

LD1102184889 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 11 feb 89

[Text] The authorities of Sierra Leone are reported to have allowed the Soviet research vessel *Akademik Mstislav Keldysh* to leave the port of Freetown. The ship left the port in the morning of Saturday. It was detained several days ago on the pretext of entering the port without permission. The research vessel is carrying out deep ocean studies in the Atlantic. On board it has two small-sized submarines. The team of researchers includes scientists from Britain and Federal Germany.

Concern Expressed Over Armed Incursion into Angola

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Comments

LD1102155289 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—The Angolan Defence Ministry's statement on an armed incursion from Namibia into the territory of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) has been made public in Luanda.

The circumstances of the incursion are being ascertained at the scene. But already now there is weighty ground to believe that responsibility for the incursion is borne by the Republic of South Africa which still concentrates large military contingents in the northern part of Namibia. The aggressive act was committed with South African long-range artillery support.

Reports to this effect are viewed with concern in the Soviet Union, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry told a TASS correspondent. It is a question of a flagrant violation of the spirit and letter of the agreement on a peaceful settlement of the situation in south-western Africa. This cannot but question the sincerity of the South African Government with regard to its obligations under the accord.

Such actions are the more inadmissible as the implementation of the accords, reached with such a difficulty, to settle the conflict situation in the region has been started and when the question of Namibia's independence is being tackled in practice in accordance with Resolution 435 of the United Nations Security Council. This should not be forgotten in Pretoria.

Commentator on RSA Denial

LD1102164989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Igor Surguchev commentary]

[Text] The Angolan Defense Ministry has reported that on Wednesday regular subunits of the RSA Army invaded Angolan territory and advanced 40 kilometers into Cuando Cubango Province. Under cover of long-range artillery, the invasion forces clashed with Angolan troops south of Caundo city. With these actions, it stressed in the Angolan Defense Ministry statement, Pretoria has grossly violated the spirit and letter of the agreement on a peaceful settlement in southwest Africa signed last December. Here is a Mayak commentary by Igor Surguchev:

[Surguchev] The RSA authorities deny invading Angola and clashing with the Angolan Armed Forces. However, there are weighty grounds for reacting skeptically to Pretoria's refutations. After all, the Luanda statement indicates that the RSA troops crossed the Namibia-Angola border in order to come to the assistance of formations of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] puppet grouping which had retreated under blows from regular Angolan Army units. Just as the invasion was under way, the apartheid state's Defense Minister Malan was telling the RSA Parliament that Pretoria would not leave UNITA without support. It is also common knowledge that in the recent past the RSA brass systematically attacked the southern areas of Angola from the territory of occupied Namibia precisely in order to save Savimbi's gang from being routed. It looks like the racist regime, desiring to prolong the existence of its Angolan puppets, is prepared to go as far as violating the agreements which it signed on a peaceful settlement in southwest Africa.

One must add that the policy of supporting UNITA is common to the RSA and the United States. AP reports that the UNITA emissary Da Costa Fernandes is in Washington for talks with representatives of the Bush administration. He is asking for an increase in supplies of U.S. weapons for his grouping and has already expressed satisfaction with the U.S. authorities' reaction to UNITA's requests. All this threatens to complicate the situation in the region and bodes grave difficulties in the cause of enacting the tripartite agreements. Less than 2 months have passed since their signing by Angola, Cuba, and the RSA, and the latter is already allowing itself to crudely violate them.

In its aggressive actions, Pretoria is not only trampling on Angola's sovereignty and security, but is bringing into question the whole process of a settlement in southwest Africa and the decolonization of Namibia. Treaties should be observed: This principle, which has been handed down to us from the ancient Romans, is generally accepted today and lies at the basis of civilized international relations. Hence the United Nations, under the aegis of which the agreements on southwest Africa will be implemented, must undertake all necessary measures to keep them in force. The Angolan statement stresses that it absolves itself of any responsibility for the unpredictable consequences of the racist RSA regime ignoring those agreements.

Gerasimov Notes RSA Party Leader's Statement

LD1002145489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1338 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 10 Feb (TASS)—The statement by Frederik de Klerk, the new leader of the Republic of South Africa's National Party, about his desire to create "a new South Africa, free from the antogonisms of the past," and to put an end to all forms of domination and oppression has not gone unnoticed in the Soviet Union, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has said.

In a conversation with a TASS diplomatic correspondent, he emphasized today that "one would like to think that this statement indicates a growing realization in South African ruling circles of the need to abolish the racist system of apartheid, which is the source of the endless internal contradictions in the region."

The Soviet diplomat went on to say that the Soviet Union would welcome concrete steps to give practical expression to the intentions voiced by Frederik de Klerk. "We favor a rapid solution, through political means, of the problems of southern Africa, including the problem of apartheid, and consider that real changes in the RSA are possible only by taking into account the opinions and interests of the country's population, both whites and blacks, who are the majority in the RSA." he said.

"Of course, we shall judge how the National Party leader's statement is put into effect by the actual deeds," Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed. "A test of the sincerity of the intentions of the RSA's ruling circles will also be provided by their actions in Namibia and the implementation of the agreements reached on a settlement in southwest Africa."

UN Commission on RSA Human Rights Violations

LD1002180489 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 10 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladislav Shishlo:

Human rights and international security are directly linked with the liquidation of apartheid and racial discrimination—this was the keynote of most of the speeches delivered at the 45th session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission now underway at the Palace of Nations here. It is discussing a set of questions pertaining to the violation of human rights in South Africa.

Delegates from the USSR, China, Cyprus, Rwanda, Yugoslavia, Tanzania, Kenya, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and the Women's International Democratic Federation have noted in their speeches the need of more U.N. efforts against the disgraceful system of apartheid, against all forms of racial discrimination.

Repressions perpetrated by Pretoria against the population of South Africa and Namibia, it was stressed by E.M. Tjiriange, member of the Politburo of the SWAPO Central Committee, are a crime against humanity, a genocide. He noted that despite the agreements reached in New York between Angola, Cuba, and the Republic of South Africa, the situation in Namibia remained tense. In spite of ruthless repressions and violence, the Namibian people had heroically resisted South-African colonial oppression in 1988.

The SWAPO delegate urged the international community to press for the apartheid regime's complete liquidation in the south of Africa, to help end Pretoria's gross violations of human rights.

The main and most urgent task in the struggle against racism is to rally all the forces of the world in order to put an end to the apartheid system in South Africa, where racism has been elevated to the rank of official policy, it was noted by the Soviet representative F.N. Stanevskiy. Mankind, he pointed out, can no longer tolerate a situation when the rights of millions are trampled underfoot in South Africa, when human dignity is humiliated there. The time has come to realize the hopelessness of efforts to suppress physically the struggle waged by the peoples of South Africa against apartheid and against the escalation of repressions.

From our world outlook, consolidation of universal international security and creation of a democratic world order are inalienably linked with the eradication of racism and apartheid, elimination of fascist propaganda, of all other ideologies of racist, nationalist and religious exclusiveness, as well as of discrimination of people on their basis. We believe that this should be the United Nations' priority task in the humanitarian sphere, the Soviet representative stressed.

West Europe

Ryzhkov Greets Belgian-Luxembourg Commission

LD0602085289 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 6 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has sent a message of greetings to the participants in the 14th session of the mixed commission for economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union (BLEU). The session opened here on Monday.

"Over the twenty years of its activities the mixed commission has made a useful contribution to the development of all forms of Soviet-Belgian-Luxembourg business cooperation", he pointed out.

"The volume of reciprocal goods turnover has considerably increased, new forms of economic relations have developed, and industrial, scientific and technical cooperation has intensified".

The economic potential of the Soviet Union and BLEU creates good prerequisites for the further development of business contacts and deeper cooperation in the international division of labour.

"Restructuring of the Soviet Union's foreign economic activities opens up fresh opportunities for more effective forms and methods of cooperation. This applies first of all to the development of co-production arrangements and the establishment of joint ventures", the message said.

The time has come to approach the problems of international economic cooperation, the major element of universal security, in a new way. This has been convincingly illustrated by the recent session of the United Nations General Assembly and by the new Soviet initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev. One major goal of these efforts is to build a common European home, which can be promoted by the commission's activities.

The head of the Soviet Government told the participants that he hoped their work would be fruitful and in the spirit of mutual understanding and goodneighbourliness.

FRG Parliamentarians on European Security
LD1002231289 Moscow TASS in English 2220 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—"We have become convinced that the Soviet Union is taking major efforts to ensure success of the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe", journalists have been told by West German Bundestag deputies from the Social Democratic Party of Germany Gernot Erler and Katrin Fuchs at a meeting which was held at the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation on Friday. "This makes us also responsible fcr creating optimal conditions for ensuring efficiency of the negotiations".

Should one view the Warsaw Treaty-announced change in the military doctrine as yet another military propaganda gesture or should one expect practical steps which will lead to a change of "a Soviet military threat" notion?—this question is still being widely discussed in the West, the West German parliamentarians stated.

Erler and Fuchs came to the Soviet Union to find a final answer to that question. In the Soviet Union they had a number of meetings with experts on military and military political questions.

The Bundestag deputies highly assessed the Soviet unilateral initiatives for reduction of troops and armaments in Europe. They noted that reorganization of the armed forces from the viewpoint of the "reasonable sufficiency" concept would give rise to a number of problems common to both the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries. The lively discussion in the USSR on social consequences of reduction of troops, methods of carrying out industrial conversion is therefore of mutual interest, representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany believe.

Erler and Fuchs expressed on behalf of their party disagreement with the NATO leadership's and the West German Government's plans to modernize tactical nuclear weapons and stressed that it might adversely affect the forthcoming negotiations. "Reduction of armaments should be carried out by both sides promptly, resolutely and with appreciable results", believe the Social Democratic Party of Germany representatives.

The Bundestag deputies expressed the hope that further development of the process of disarmament and detente in Europe will finally wipe out mistrust and a "mutual threat" notion.

Latin America & Caribbean

General Staff Denies Troops in C. America
PM1102190989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 89 First Edition p 6

[From the "Frank Dialogue" feature in which readers letters are answered by B. Averchenko, P. Bogomolov, V. Gorlenko, A. Krushinskiy, A. Lopukhin, V. Chernyshev, and V. Shurygin: "Facts Refute"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "We are reducing our Armed Forces and have published very important data on the Warsaw Pact countries' combat power. All of this is, of course, necessary and timely. But why do we, at the same time, maintain our bridgehead in Central America and keep troops there? Do we not thereby annoy our partners in disarmament—the Americans? V. Sidorkin, engineer (Moscow)."

It was officially confirmed to PRAVDA's correspondent at the USSR Armed Forces General Staff that we have had and continue to have no troops in Central America. In the whole of that region there are currently 17 Soviet military specialists in the servicing of combat hardware, who are in Nicaragua at the request of that country's government.

The figure provided by the General Staff convincingly refutes the West's allegations of a "Soviet military presence" in Central America. For comparison we will cite data published in the world press on the U.S. military presence in that dangerously explosive region. Some 1,600 U.S. servicemen are currently participating in combat exercises on the territory of Honduras, and 900 in Costa Rica. U.S. military advisers should not be discounted either: There are 21 in Guatemala, 32 in Honduras, and 60 in El Salvador. Some 12,000 soldiers and officers of the Pentagon are stationed in Panama. Of course, these eloquent figures certainly do not mean that we should emulate the United States in this militarization of the region, which could have extremely dangerous consequences.

Another myth—that the Soviet Union is giving aid to Nicaragua to the detriment of other countries in the region—does not stand up to practical verification either. In reality, we support a Central American settlement along the lines of the compromise Guatemalan accords based, as is known, on the peace plan of Costa Rican President O. Arias. On the other hand, during the eighties Nicaragua has received military deliveries certainly not only from the USSR, but also from many other states which have expressed readiness to afford it such aid, particularly France.

Ortega Supports Central American Summit

LD1202121289 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT 12 Feb 89

[Text] Managua February 12 TASS—The Nicaraguan Government is greatly interested in success of a Central American summit in El Salvador because the consolidation of the peace process in the region under the Guatemala accords depends on its outcome, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said at a news conference for local and foreign journalists on Saturday.

The summit would signify, he pointed out, that the Central American peace plan is being implemented. It is highly important that on the eve of the summit U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and regional foreign ministers reached agreement in principle to set up an international force for supervision and security with the participation of Spain, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany and some Latin American countries.

With the assistance of this force stationed in every country of the region, it would be possible in the coming months to verify compliance with obligations assumed. This inspires confidence that the summit will be a success.

At the same time, Daniel Ortega said, we have not yet reached a common opinion on problems concerning the fulfilment of political obligations. For its part, Nicaragua will submit at the summit a plan for the forthcoming presidential elections under the supervision of the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the international community to prevent possible speculations.

As for the human rights issue which will be discussed in El Salvador, Nicaragua suggested that such international organizations as the Interamerican Human Rights Commission and U.N. working groups submit reports on the human rights situation in every Central American country to the executive commission which consists of the foreign ministers of the region, Ortega said.

Nicaragua hopes that U.S. President George Bush will respect the opinion of Central American peoples and will support the regional peace plan, Ortega pointed out.

He emphasized the importance of resuming talks with the U.S. Administration and normalising relations with the United States, rejecting at the same time the possibility of any dialogue with the contras. The latter suffered defeat and do not constitute a real force. Therefore it is senseless to seek a common language with the contras, he said. Those who will discontinue subversive activity may avail themselves of the amnesty and return to Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan Government is genuinely interested in the repatriation of Nicaraguan citizens. With this end in view we gave a plan to the Honduran Government for the return of the contras and their families to Nicaragua. These efforts could be supported by the U.S. Congress which in that case would render real humanitarian support, the Nicaraguan president pointed out.

Political & Social

Chebrikov Pursues Candidacy as People's Deputy

Tours Moldavian Enterprises

PM1302125389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Stay in Moldavia"]

[Text] Topical problems of the republic's sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and spiritual life were the focus of attention of V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was in Moldavia 8 through 11 February. He visited a number of Kishinev enterprise collectives, met with rural workers, and showed interest in the progress of restructuring and existing problems and difficulties. An informal talk on various issues took place with creatively-minded people who know and love their profession and can see the long term. Workers, specialists, scientists, and party workers frankly expressed their views about how restructuring is proceeding in Moldavia, about what characterizes the moral and political climate in the republic, and about how socioconsumer and other questions are being resolved.

As a candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, V.M. Chebrikov addressed a meeting with the Kishinev party aktiv.

During the talk with the leadership and specialists of the "Mezon" production association's Kishinev plant named for the 60th anniversary of the USSR, the CPSU Central Committee secretary was given detailed information about what the collective is doing to ensure that the instrument builders' output is up to world standards, and about the problems which are being encountered on this path. Analyzing the qualitative indicators of the association's work, V.M. Chebrikov noted that they still largely fail to meet the requirements of the time. He stressed that economically accountable [khozraschetnyye] relations in subunits within the plant are sometimes of a merely formal nature, and drew attention to breakdowns in implementing targets for the production of consumer goods. It was recommended to the association leadership that it examine the first month of work under the new conditions and do everything necessary to prepare for the enterprise's transition to the lease contract.

V.M. Chebrikov was familiarized with the construction of the Kishinev personal computer plant and the working and leisure conditions of the workers at the head enterprise of the "Floare" carpetweaving production association.

In Orgeyevskiy Rayon the guest visited the "Progress" pig rearing science and production association, an interfarm enterprise for the production of pork, and the "Malayeshtskiy" sovkhoz. During a talk with scientists, livestock raisers, and rural workers, the CPSU Central Committee secretary focused attention on tasks whose implementation should promote the successful implementation of the Food Program.

During his acquaintance with the republic's Academy of Sciences, V.M. Chebrikov visited the all-union "Biotron" scientific center. He was told about the operation of the automated system for gathering and processing information on biological objects, without parallel in the world, thanks to which research scientists can determine rapidly and accurately the potential of a particular plant, select the most resilient and productive, and accelerate work to obtain new strains and hybrids. The guest was acquainted with the work of Moldavian biologists and geneticists at the Institute of Ecological Genetics. There was also a meeting with leaders of the academy and its departments and institutes. In his speech at the meeting, V.M. Chebrikov dwelled on problems of the development of science, its role in restructuring, and questions of the democratization of science, the influx of talented scientists into science, and the improvement of the organizational forms of conducting scientific research.

The speech paid great attention to problems of language and interethnic relations. In particular it was emphasized that the party's line is to do everything to develop all nations and ethnic groups and to display a solicitous attitude toward their history, culture, language, monuments, customs, traditions, and literature. Questions of interethnic relations must be resolved on a healthy basis with a consideration for local and national conditions, but we must not forget here the international essence of our state. Otherwise we may become locked inside our own national framework.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited a number of Kishinev's trading enterprises, where he had relaxed talks with customers. Many of them expressed satisfaction with the range of goods and the standard of service. But complaints were also made regarding the quality of vegetable, fruit, and other produce, and its presence in the stores.

V.M. Chebrikov had a talk with the leadership of the republic's law enforcement organs.

The question of the need to galvanize the activity of party committees to intensify the restructuring processes which have been launched in the country was a point of great interest at a meeting with members and candidate members of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Central Committee department chiefs, Kishinev Gorkom secretaries, and first secretaries of the party raykoms of the republic's capital.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin and the memorial of military glory.

During his trip V.M. Chebrikov was accompanied by S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, and I.P. Kalin, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

Discusses Election Platform

PM1202200989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Party's Election Platform Is a Real Way To Deepen Restructuring"]

[Text] Kishinev, 10 Feb—The current election campaign is radically different from previous ones; it is the stage of the practical implementation of the reform of the political system, the need for which was recognized by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The new Law on the Election of USSR People's Deputies is designed to revive the Leninist traditions of the formation and activity of the supreme organs of power. There is now a new stage in the election campaign—meetings with candidate people's deputies.

In the Moldavian capital today the city party aktiv had a meeting with a candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU—V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting was opened by N.A. Tsyu, first secretary of Kishinev party gorkom. The speakers at the meeting—V.V. Yegorov, member of the party gorkom bureau and secretary of the party committee of the "Mikroprovod" Science and Production Association; G.F. Zhovan, student at Kishinev's I. Creanga State Pedagogical Institute; F.P. Mardariy, locomotive depot fitter; and Hero of the Soviet Union S.I. Grigoryev, veteran of the Great Patriotic War—said that the lives of all of us are bound up with restructuring today. We have become different in many ways and see the goals and ways to achieve them differently. Moldavia's Communists are certain that everyone must, above all, work better for the success of renewal. This is how our party poses the question.

V.M. Chebrikov addressed the gathering. He expressed cordial gratitude to everyone who submitted and supported the proposal to nominate him a candidate people's deputy from the Communist Party.

Mindful of the tremendous significance of the upcoming elections for the country's future, the speaker said, the CPSU Central Committee comprehensively drew up the party's political election platform, setting it out in the appeal to Communists and to the entire Soviet people. I would like to dwell in greater detail on this platform's basic ideas and say how I see and feel the main problems of acute concern to Communists and all Soviet people. Of course, the initial, most important topic for discussion is the topic of restructuring: how it is going and what must be done to accelerate it.

The first results of restructuring can be seen everywhere in our country. People are changing before our eyes, and the energy of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia is being emancipated. The party's authority among the masses is strengthening. Intensive factors are increasingly determining the dynamics of social production. National income is growing faster than in the past. Its overall increase is being ensured through higher labor productivity. The retooling of production is proceeding more actively. A tendency to reduce material- and energy-intensiveness has become apparent. The significance of the changes may be better evaluated if one recalls the starting point during the pre-April period, from which we embarked on the difficult road of renewing society. Nevertheless, we all sense the complex and sometimes contradictory way the restructuring processes are proceeding and how acutely the old and the new are at odds. It is clear now that it will take quite a lot of time to untangle the problems which have accumulated.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary went on to dwell on questions of deepening restructuring in various spheres of the life of society.

While preparing for the trip here, he said, I familiarized myself with materials characterizing the state of affairs in Moldavia's national economy. What impression did I gain? I saw that the republic is making an appreciable contribution to our country's economy. Much is being done to deepen the restructuring processes. However, it should be particularly emphasized today that restructuring in the republic is developing slowly and unevenly. In 1988 it was not possible to overcome the lagging behind the planned targets for economic and social development.

This attests to the need for the republic Central Committee and government and for party gorkoms and raykoms to abruptly alter their work style and concentrate efforts on the practical fulfillment of the party's decisions on accelerating restructuring in all spheres of social life. It is necessary—not in words but in deeds—to master political methods of leadership and rely more widely on labor collectives and public organizations in everyday work.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out, in particular, that the public, including in Moldavia, quite rightly raises sharply questions of environmental protection and the unwise use of chemicals in carrying out agricultural work. We must be thankful to those people who have focused the attention of society on truly neglected, painful, and urgent problems.

The speaker then focused the attention of those assembled on the processes of democracy and glasnost. Why has the party Central Committee posed questions of broadening democracy so consistently and sharply, and why does it continue to do so? Because, he emphasized, Soviet society's attainment of a new level of democratization and glasnost makes it possible to resolve increasingly complex tasks, primarily those connected with the general process of restructuring.

The current election campaign reflects the profound purport and substance of our democracy and socialist people's power, which are being revived in the process of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society. On the whole, there is confidence that elections held in line with new principles will be a genuine school of democracy for everyone, and will enable our country's citizens to promote to state management their best representatives who are capable of struggling actively to implement the tasks of restructuring and who know how to organically link their voters' needs with the interests of the entire people and with the tasks of developing all of society.

Much still has to be done to fundamentally strengthen guarantees of citizens rights and freedoms. Soviet society is steadily emerging onto a qualitatively new level of openness and glasnost. The mass media are working more efficiently, and criticism and self-criticism have expanded. People are becoming less fettered and more active, are acting more confidently, and are coming out firmly against everything that holds up restructuring. Unfortunately, we also encounter people who are intolerant of other people's opinions and who try to inflame passions and speculate on the processes of broadening democracy, pursuing their own, egotistic ends. But the advantages we derive by speaking truthfully and openly to people about everything are considerable, and they greatly outweigh the negative aspects and our problems.

At the same time there will be far fewer problems if party organizations explain our understanding of democracy more convincingly, for it presupposes not just rallies and debates but also high responsibility, discipline, order, organization, and the organic unity of rights and duties. I believe that the entire atmosphere of our life must now be imbued with the idea of everyone's great personal responsibility for the fate of restructuring and for the specific task entrusted. It is important now for everyone to understand that labor constitutes the basis of life. It is precisely labor that shapes the person, the citizen, morality, ethics, and so forth.

The party Central Committee believes that strengthening socialist legality and law and order in the country is an inalienable part of improving and deepening democracy. Legal questions are of ardent concern to the public. You feel this at meetings with working people, in the press, and in letters sent to the Central Committee. Many people have something to say on questions relating to the concept and notion of the socialist rule-of-law state. There are very different opinions, both of a theoretical and of a practical nature—which is natural. The truth is born of debate, of a contrasting of different viewpoints. But the process does not stand still. People's power is developing in the country, the influence of public organizations and movements is growing, and legislation is being updated.

Very important laws have been adopted recently, and a number of new draft laws have been prepared and are being carefully reviewed. The practice of publishing draft laws for broad discussion by all citizens will be continued. The active involvement of scientific research institutes, scientists, labor collectives, and public organizations in preparing and approving draft laws, the use of in-depth sociological research, and the study of public opinion with regard to legal problems are proposed. Account is being taken of foreign experience in lawmaking activity and, primarily, of course, of the socialist countries' experience.

The draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Criminal Legislation are now being discussed in the country in an exceptionally committed and fruitful way. The rigorous clarity of the draft and the humaneness of the norms enshrined in it are noted. At the same time people quite rightly say that socialist humanism has nothing in common with liberalism toward thieves and hooligans, killers and rapists, bribe-takers and speculators. Many suggestions are being made and carefully considered and interpreted.

Painstaking work is being done in the country to regularize and resolutely reduce the prolific masses of departmental normative acts. We proceed here from the premise that justice and the law must promote restructuring, give it comprehensive legal backing, and reliably defend citizens rights and legitimate interests. This must organically include protection of the individual against violence and against encroachments on his life, health, honor, and dignity. The citizen's responsibility to the state and society will also be enhanced.

All of this great multifaceted work is to bring us steadily closer to a genuine socialist, rule-of-law state; it is designed to ensure the unconditional supremacy of the law in all spheres of social life and the high level of the individual's social protection, to rule out any arbitrariness, and to substantially enhance the prestige and role of the court and of prosecutor's office supervision and the functional efficiency of the militia and of the legal profession. In short, our goal is to ensure reliable juridical guarantees of legality and of citizens rights and duties, to integrate legality into the culture of society, and to create all conditions for the people to enjoy a free and just life. This is complex work which will take time and will require a scientific approach, as well as the contrasting of different and sometimes diametrically opposed viewpoints.

We undoubtedly must have a scientifically substantiated legal policy and a well-developed system of law in keeping with the changes in various spheres of the life of society. But it is not, of course, a question of the number of laws. It has to be said that even now we have many good laws that really express the people's will and reflect the principle of social justice. The crux of the matter is to ensure that these laws "work" efficiently. This is because it is precisely in applying legislation and other normative acts that the regime of socialist legality takes shape—that the safeguarding of law and order, of the interests of society, and of citizens rights and freedoms is ensured.

The prestige, principledness, and militancy of people's and workers control are now being revived. Public controllers have begun more actively exposing and publicizing cases of mismanagement and extravagance and violations of trading regulations. This is one more good sign of society's growing intolerance of any negative phenomena in our life.

I believe the processes taking place in society are increasingly insistently placing on the agenda the question of intensifying the Soviet people's education in the spirit of respect for laws. Tolerance of activities that were unusual even yesterday causes some people to feel that everything is allowed and nothing punished. Unfortunately, there are frequent appeals to ignore various instructions and legitimate requirements and to virtually destroy the legal basis of social life. Of course, obsolete rules must be quickly revised and changed, but those that work must be fulfilled and applied scrupulously and, I would say, pedantically.

In short, there is an urgent need to create a unified state system of universal primary juridical education in the country and to radically improve legal education. The CPSU Central Committee is working through proposals on this score. Here it is not just a question of extending the practice of explaining articles of the criminal code but of resolutely reorienting the corresponding propaganda and ideological-political work toward fostering mature awareness of the law. A person of high political standards and lofty spiritual requirements must be the objective of such education. In this sense I share the alarm voiced in certain recent articles that it is precisely base standards that are the reason for the moral downfall of many people and that causes them to commit antisocial acts.

The strengthening of legality and law and order is a matter for our entire people. But party, soviet, and law enforcement organs are primarily responsible for it. They only have to relax attention toward growing negative trends somewhere, and a serious complication of the situation ensues.

I must say that the level of crime in the country gives rise to serious concern. The number of murders, cases of grievous bodily harm, robberies, muggings, thefts, and offenses in public places increased last year. Child and teenage crime increased and took the form of organized group crime, for example, in Kazan, Taganrog, Lipetsk, Morshansk, and a number of other cities.

Dwelling on questions of the struggle against offenses in Moldavia, V.M. Chebrikov emphasized the need to radically improve work to prevent and halt crimes, the number of which has increased sharply in the republic over the past year.

It must be admitted that one reason for the growth in crime, he said, is that a considerable number of employees of the organs entrusted with fighting it, quite frankly, display passiveness and even confusion, fearing rebukes that their legitimate actions in suppressing offenses under the new conditions may be regarded by someone as violations of democracy and citizens rights. Certain gaps in our legislation are also having an impact here.

In short, the existing system for combating antisocial manifestations does not meet modern requirements. Active measures are now being taken to restructure the work of prosecutor's office and internal affairs organs on the basis of a comprehensive approach to resolving the multifaceted problem of ensuring legality and order. Important steps have been taken to intensify the struggle against organized crime and other dangerous types of crimes. I believe all these measures will produce the greatest return if law enforcement organs sense the active help and support of broad sections of the population and of every honest Soviet citizen.

Life has shown that in a multinational country such as ours any questions of a socioeconomic, political, cultural, or legal nature must be pondered and resolved with due regard to interethnic relations. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case. In addition to the incontestable achievements in this sphere, many problems have accumulated and conflicts arisen. We are now feeling this particularly acutely. Restructuring and the broadening of democracy and glasnost have fully highlighted these problems and urgently required us to make fuller use of the national factor in society's radical transformation. Detailed counsel with the party and with the entire Soviet people is needed. One of the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenums will sum up the debate taking place in our country and formulate the party's updated nationalities policy on the basis of Leninist principles. The Central Committee proceeds from the premise that we must have a strong center and strong republics. It is necessary to achieve a true harmony of interests of all nations and ethnic groups and, without fail, their coordination with all-union interests on the principles of socialist internationalism, independence and responsibility, mutual assistance, and fraternity. All this is possible only on the paths of restructuring.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is carrying out certain work on generalizing the republic's experience in improving interethnic relations, and on formulating constructive proposals. It is important that this work not be confined to offices. It is necessary to go to the people more boldly, consult with them, listen to them attentively, explain party policy, and prompt working people to resolve urgent problems. We are all living in a crucial, critical time. Every Soviet individual must be profoundly aware that only in the friendly family of equal peoples, united on truly democratic principles, is it possible to ensure the progress of each nation and ethnic group and of our common homeland—the USSR.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, V.M. Chebrikov emphasized, set the goal of fully reviving the Leninist concept of the CPSU as the political vanguard. In accordance with the conference guidelines, measures are being implemented in all components of our party to enhance the efficiency of party work, broaden internal party democracy, ensure collective party leadership, and enhance the role and significance of elected organs.

We must all remember that the party's vanguard role is created by every party organization and every Communist. This is manifested in specific practical deeds. It is very important to ensure in every party organization a principled, businesslike atmosphere characterized by openness, humaneness, and the mutual exactingness of Communists. No party member, whatever post he holds, must be beyond control and criticism or be protected from responsibility for his actions and deeds, above all before his own primary party organization. It is necessary to try to ensure that everywhere primary party organizations are truly the political nucleus of labor collectives. They, precisely, must find and advance the true superintendents of restructuring to the latter's front lines.

The party and every Communist must now selflessly champion the April line. It is necessary to know how to defend restructuring against irresponsibility and extremism, against demagoguery and adventurism, and to protect it from everything extraneous and accidental.

I would like to say that individual, so-called informal associations are doing considerable harm to the strong positive public movement which has brought to life processes of our society's further democratization. Coming under the influence of extremist leaders, they embark on a path of antisocial and illegal activity. While demagogically declaring their support for restructuring, they hinder it by their actions. There are also frankly antisocialist elements that are attempting to create political structures opposed to the CPSU. We must, of course, react to such attempts and actions. It is necessary to make a principled political assessment of the programs and actions of self-motivated associations from the viewpoint of these programs' and actions' conformity with the aims of our society's renewal. In this we must be guided by the decisions of party organs and by the corresponding legislative acts, and we must deal a resolute and public rebuff, from Marxist-Leninist positions, to the leaders of those formations which seek to push the masses onto a path of anarchy and lawlessness, onto a path of destabilizing the situation, onto a path of creating legal and illegal structures in opposition to the party. Experience of work in the new way has confirmed the key role of Communist leaders and the party aktiv in restructuring. It is where the leadership and the party aktiv are restructuring themselves at an increasing rate that things have really gotten going. Unfortunately, this is not happening everywhere. Individual leaders have proved unprepared to demonstrate the rightness of party decisions with acutal deeds; they take a passive stance in the struggle against shortcomings and even display personal immodesty and dishonor. This is why everyone must restructure himself more actively, self-critically assess what has been achieved, act boldly and creatively, and skillfully mobilize Communists for quests, innovation, and specific practical deeds. It is necessary to cultivate a free exchange of opinions in collectives and learn to accept criticism correctly. Only in this case will everyone speak the truth and act according to his conscience. The current report and election campaign in the party has, on the whole, taken place on just such a note.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary dwelt on questions of the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state and on the Soviet peace initiatives aimed at improving international relations.

In conclusion, V.M. Chebrikov emphasized that under modern conditions much depends on everyone's personal stance. Particularly important is the stance of a person who, thanks to the trust of voters, may be promoted to direct management of state affairs.

With both my mind and my heart, he said, I ardently support the party's April line and consider restructuring my vital concern as a Communist. My election program proceeds entirely and fully from the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions and from the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Party and the Soviet people. I consider these documents a guide for action, a mandate to a candidate people's deputy from the CPSU.

Candidate Deputies, Election Platforms Presented

Abalkin Platform on Economy

LD0902190489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1300 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 9 Feb (TASS)—"I propose working out in the next 2-3 months a program for financial recovery in the Soviet economy, and offering it up for discussion at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies after the elections". This is one of the points in the election program of Academician Leonid Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Science's Institute of Economics, who is a USSR people's deputy candidate for the CPSU.

Just recently the 58-year-old Academician was besieged for over 2 hours by journalists who were trying to "seek out" secrets on the development of the reform. After all, Leonid Abalkin is considered the theoretician of the reform. As one who is accustomed to polemics and to hearing diverse opinions, he speaks without outward fervor, both about the achievements and the problems of the reform. The slide to the economic abyss has been halted, but the deficit in the state budget has reached a dangerous level and the increase in incomes is getting out of control, the scientist thinks. This is why a program and vigorous actions are needed to bring about a recovery in the financial system within the next 2-3 years.

He says: "For restructuring to become irreversible the transformations must affect the attitude to ownership of the means of production. What is meant is not just the development of cooperatives or individual labor activity, but also the introduction of new forms for state ownership itself, including the use of leasing and regional financial autonomy in the union republics. Economic reform must be consolidated by corresponding transformations in the political system if the law and corresponding judicial instances are to protect the independence of the enterprise and the work collective".

The scientist has for over 20 years been firmly and consistently advocating ecnoomic independence for enterprises and the principles of financial autonomy. At last year's 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, Leonid Abalkin did not hold back during his evaluation of the course of economic reform with Mikhail Gorbachev. Neverhtless, he has been advanced as a USSR people's deputy candidate of the Communist Party. His opinion is listened to. It is no coincidence that the integral concept for deepening and developing the economic reform, a concept examined in early January by the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, was elaborated by the Institute of Economics under his leadership.

Falin Discusses Candidacy

LD1102053389 Moscow TASS in English 0530 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—The commission for the election of USSR People's Deputies from the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies and "Rodina" ("Motherland") Society presents Valentin Falin, candidate for people's deputies. A leaflet saying this was circulated Friday evening in the foyer of the building of the Union of Soviet Friendship Societies in the Kalinin Avenue. The candidate had a meeting with voters in the friendship house here.

Valentin Falin, a diplomat, journalist, historian, politician is well known to Soviet people as a person who took part in the drafting and signing of the Moscow treaty between the USSR and the FRG which laid down a cornerstone into the foundation of the Helsinki process.

The policy from the positions of strength in the international arena has become irrelevant, Valentin Falin said, setting out his program. It should be replaced with a policy of taking each other's interests in account. The problem of security is above all a political problem. It is necessary to strive to achieve a reasonable correlation between the military, political, economic and social composite parts in the world arena. "We shall not advance far along the road of international detente unless the process of renewal is applied to our relations with foreign countries", he said.

"I believe the main quality of a people's deputy is a critical attitude to the conclusions advanced at any level and a critical attitude to himself", Valentin Falin said in answer to a question from voters.

Zaykov Visits Health Centers

LD1102095289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] One of the candidates for people's deputy, Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, acquainted himself with the work of major scientific and practical centers of the capital's health service—the all-union oncological scientific center and the intersector scientific-technical complex for eye microsurgery—on 9 and 10 February. Meetings took place between Comrade Zaykov and the party and economic aktiv of the capital's two leading medical establishments. Problems connected with the special-purpose health program for the city were discussed thoroughly.

This year, Comrade Zaykov said, addressing those assembled, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies will meet. The Moscow city organization of the CPSU is devoting particular attention to the work and problems of the various labor collectives and to a study of the specific nature and conditions of their labor and of their wishes. Therefore, my task as a party official and as candidate for deputy is to find out as many fresh proposals, opinions, and views as possible. Obviously, these meetings can be rated as a dialogue held by a candidate for USSR people's deputy on problems with representatives of the medical public, who are solving the humane tasks of protecting the health of Soviet people.

Comrade Zaykov dwelt in detail on the new approaches of the city's leadership to the development of the economic and social complexes. Much attention was paid to issues connected with housing construction and development of the health service. It was noted at the meetings that the Moscow gorkom and the Moscow gorispolkom are helping not only practical health care, but also medical science, in solving complicated issues. Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov answered numerous questions from physicians and specialists.

Patriarch Pimen Candidate Deputy

LD1002141789 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 10 TASS—The patriarch of Moscow and all-Russia Pimen received today the certificate of candidate people's deputy of the USSR. He was nominated for candidacy by the country's peace movement headed by the Soviet Peace Committee and the U.N. Association in the USSR.

Accepting the certificate, Patriarch Pimen expressed heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet public for this great trust.

"The perestroyka period," Patriarch Pimen said, "inspires us, the religious leaders, to serve our people devotedly. Accepting this certificate, I realize well the responsibility which the electorate confers upon me. I regard my nomination as recognition of the importance of religious leaders taking part in the process of our country's development."

"The Church in our country is separated from the state," Patriarch Pimen noted. "But it is inseparable from society and by nominating us the voters are entitled to expect from us, the church dignitories, a special spiritual contribution to the great cause of renovating and morally improving different spheres of our country's life."

"If God helps me to be elected," Patriarch Pimen concluded, "I shall gladly serve, as I have always served and urged others to serve, the cause of love and compassion, the cause of consolidating family ties, fostering in everyone of us a careful and considerate attitude to fellow men, to labour, to our cultural legacy, to the environment, to peace and cooperation among all the peoples of the world."

Election Meeting Held in Moscow Constituency

LD1102104189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 10 February, in its regular "Vremya" newscast, carries a 3-minute report by correspondent A. Tikhomirov on a 9 February constituency election meeting of Moscow Leninskiy No 1 constituency, held at the Moscow House of Scientists. The video shows people holding placards, some bearing the name Kiselev, others bearing the name Grigoryev. Tikhomirov states: "Various sides are promoting the cause of candidate Kiselev and other candidates, as you can see. This, thank heavens, is not the United States, where, as we have for so many years been told, the number of dollars invested determines the success of the campaign. As this meeting shows, a hand-written poster can fully compete with thousands of printed posters. Furthermore, strange as it may seem, the massive propaganda pressure launched over the past few months in the constituency seemed to us to have worked to the detriment of Kisilev, director of a major Moscow works, in the opinion of the electors. A magnificent director, a marvellous manager who has ensured construction of a hospital and swimming baths at the works' expense. But you know, either a particular sort of audience gathered in the House of Scientists, or else we have all become more profound and far-seeing in the years of restructuring: Either way, the majority wanted to vote not for immediate material prosperity, but for a platform such as that put forward by candidate V.M. Savitskiy."

The video shows Savitskiy speaking. Savitskiy talks about shortages of goods and poor services, and goes on to say: "Nevertheless, the most serious and dangerous shortage is the lack of protection for human rights and freedoms. We feel this deficit at ever step, wherever we go. You can get to the end of a line and buy some wretched soap. But if you are humiliated at every step, in every workshop in the service sector, if bureaucrats walk all over you, if you go out to work and cannot be sure that your apartment will be safe, then I think it is extremely difficult to talk about the preservation of the individual in such conditions. The individual is being depersonalized in this constant, wearing, and routine struggle for survival. Therefore I consider the most important task of the new Supreme Soviet to be that of guaranteeing the rights, honor, dignity, and freedom of the individual."

Tikhomorov goes on to say that 12 people were nominated for just the one mandate: The camera shows the hopeful nominees on the platform, addressing the meeting in turn. Yevtushenko is shown reading his speech, also economist Popov.

Tikhomorov ends his report by pointing out that 12 people were nominated for just the one mandate, among whom were Yevtushenko, economist Popov, jurist Yuriy Mikhailovich Savitskiy, and economist Aleksey Mikhailovich Yemelyanov. He notes that Popov declined to stand in the Leninskiy constituency because he has been proposed elsewhere. The video shows Yevtushenko and Popov reading their speeches.

Transcaucasian Interior Ministers Give Briefing

LD1002142289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1045 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Interview with Armenian Interior Minister Colonel Usik Surenovich Arutyunyan and Azerbaijani Interior Minister Major General of Internal Troops Aydyn Israfie Ogly Mamedov, by correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov at USSR Internal Affairs Ministry briefing for Soviet journalists; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Fedorov] Comrade ministers, the chief question radio listeners are worried about surely revolves round the present situation in the republics. The first question ought surely to be put to the Armenian Minister of Internal Affairs.

[Arutyunyan] At the present time we are fully in control of the operational situation in the republic. As for the events that took place in November against the backdrop of interethnic relations, there are no such phenomena now. The earthquake which took place with an unprecedented ferocity on 7 December changed the operational situation somewhat, and so in practice we, personnel of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, along with the representatives of the Internal Security Troops, and those studying at educational establishments and higher educational establishments, had to carry out a great deal of work both to rescue people and to protect material assets and to establish normal public order.

[Fedorov] Comrade Mamedov, please go ahead.

[Mamedov] The operational situation in the Azerbaijani SSR is normal and is fully under our control. No crimes against the backdrop of interethnic relations have been registered on the territory of the republic following the December events. All measures are being taken to bring to light the crimes committed during the period of mass disturbances.

[Fedorov] In connection with this, here is the second question put to you, comrade ministers. How many crimes committed against the backdrop of interethnic relations have been committed during the past year? How many criminal prosecutions have been started? How many criminals have already found themselves in court? And what are the moral and physical losses sustained as a result of all these disturbances?

[Arutyunyan] In our republic, Armenia, 313 criminal prosecutions have been commenced. Forty-one people have been arrested; 17 of these have been arrested for murder. Seventeen cases, involving 23 people, have been passed to people's courts, investigations having been completed. Sentences have been passed in 16 cases involving 22 persons. Investigations are continuing.

[Fedorov] Aydyn Israfil Ogly, please go ahead.

[Mamedov] Incalculable moral and material damage has been done in the republic as a result of the activities of criminal elements. The events have claimed a considerable number of lives. Approximately 500 people have sustained injuries, bodily harm. A considerable number of pogroms and instances of arson have taken place.

Concerning the extraordinary events which took place against the backdrop of interethnic relations in our republic, Azerbaijan, 344 criminal cases involving more than 4,000 incidents have been instituted. Approximately 170 organizers, instigators, and active participants in the excesses and mass disturbances have had criminal prosecutions brought against them. Three hundred and fifty criminals have been charged; more than 100 cases have already been passed to the courts.

[Fedorov] Incidentally, the foreign press now gives varying figures for those who have been killed and who have been affected during the period of disturbances. It would be desirable to dot the i's and to clarify the truth of how many people have been killed and wounded. Aydyn Israfil Ogly, please go ahead.

[Mamedov] In all, 84 people and 3 servicemen carrying out their duty lost their lives on the territory of the two republics in 1988 as a result of mass disturbances.

[Fedorov] As is known, literally the whole world gave a great deal of material and moral support and assistance to those affected by the earthquake in Armenia. Various kinds of freight are on its way there and continue to arrive now, too. But, alas, the state of affairs with regard to the storage of this freight it none too good, let us say. In this context here is a question for you, Comrade Arutyunyan. How many criminal prosecutions have been brought concerning instances of theft of this freight?

[Arutyunyan] Over the earthquake zone as a whole, a total of 140 criminal cases have been instituted, including 14 cases of theft and embezzlement of goods and material valuables which arrived in the form of aid. Investigation has been completed in 52 cases; 47 people have been arrested; 43 files have been sent to the courts. The Supreme Court, as the court of final instance, has convicted many people.

[Fedorov] Apart from the purely penal judgment, there is also a moral judgement. How can anyone take from their blood brothers who have lost their homes and lost their nearest and dearest, how can anyone take what is intended for them in the first instance? In my opinion that is inhuman.

[Arutyunyan] One cannot fail to agree with you. But, you see, for the criminal, for morally unscrupulous people, it is unimportant from whom they steal from, when they steal, or in what circumstances. Unfortunately, in this sinful world, as world statistics show, during any cataclysms upsurges of crime are always observed.

The thing is that this is facilitated to a large extent by conditions. In Leninakan and Spitak tens and hundreds of places where valuable goods were stored were totally destroyed. True, we began on literally the 2d and 3d day to protect these places. But these places are often buried. Bulldozers clear away the rubble and someone comes along and picks up same valuables.

[Fedorov] There have even been cases when things have been taken from dead bodies.

[Arutyunyan] One such case was registered in Leninakan when a criminal claimed to be a doctor and stole rings from the dead. This case is also among those which have been investigated and passed to the court.

[Fedorov] What measures are now being taken to ensure the safety of freight coming in to Armenia?

[Arutyunyan] Aid has arrived in very large quantities. Tens and hundreds of people were sent off to Armenia and lack of supervision, especially at the start, allowed thefts to take place. But as a result of the measures that were taken, on the decision of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the transport militia was reinforced, and special groups were set up which, literally at every station on the approaches to the Transcaucasus and Armenia, checked rolling stock and kept watch in places where thefts had occurred, in order to prevent them. Unfortunately, instances occurred when the railwaymen and the accompanying armed guards themselves assisted or carried out thefts. At the present time a large range of measures has been carried out to prevent such cases.

[Fedorov] There are various rumors being circulated—although rumors are not an argument for journalists, and even less so for a minister of internal affairs of a union republic—that foreign currency funds are being spent wastefully, that some are leaking away, and so on. Please explain the facts on this question.

[Arutyunyan] This again is one of a number of rumors, because foreign currency appears on documents, so to speak, in bank accounts. These are in specific pounds and dollars and they could not in practice stick to anyone's hands. And, so far as I know, the leadership of the republic will be fully in control of this foreign currency, and it will be directed at some large, complex programs and problems, and not for local actions.

[Fedorov] And yet, for the sake of getting at the truth, I would like to put also this question, which may not be entirely pleasant for you, a question which was raised at the collegium of the USSR MVD last Monday, which we all attended: Cases of betrayal, cases of a "professional"—in inverted commas—attitude to their duties by members of the militia, both in Azerbaijan and in Armenia, in the period of these various disorders. Comrade Mamedov, will you speak on this, please?

[Mamedov] Unfortunately, in extreme situations certain members of our staff were involved in cases of betrayal of the interests of the service, and there were cases of cowardice, and all of this dealt substantial harm to the prestige of the militia in our republic. The Azerbaijani Ministry of Internal Affairs is taking measures to rid the ministry personnel of persons who did not rise to the occasion in these extreme cases. In November and December alone over 100 people were dismissed.

[Arutyun] Well, virtually the same picture in Armenia was seen to some degree or other similar to what was described by Aydyn Israfilovich. We, too, took resolute measures. In December-January 24 members were dismissed who should have protected, or at least have provided a guarantee of security, but this, alas, did not happen. Sixty-seven people have been punished at a disciplinary level. We shall fight ruthlessly on the level of education, on the level of cleansing, on the level of selecting staff. We have a great deal of work to do in order to ensure that this great damage which has been done is somehow eliminated, and that it becomes a thing of the past.

[Fedorov] And so that, as Vladimir Ilich Lenin used to put it, the militiaman genuinely becomes, for real, the best friend of the people.

[Arutyunyan] Undoubtedly. This is a foremost task of ours, especially now, when we are carrying out a great deal of work connected with the return of the so-called refugees both from Armenia and Azerbaijan to where they reside permanently. Our foremost task is to ensure for them maximum security, and the maximum of attention, so that no one is affronted, insulted, or humiliated in any situation, or has his rights infringed upon.

[Fedorov] People want to know whether all those who violated law and order, those who were instrumental in instigating the disturbances in your union republics, will be brought to book, and will they be held responsible as provided for by the law? I have here in mind the leaders of the Karabakh and Krunk committees.

[Arutyunyan] Well, the USSR procuracy has formally commenced criminal proceedings against the leaders of the Karabakh Committee; the investigation is under way.

[Fedorov] Could you give us some names?

[Arutyunyan] I can name Manucharyan, Kazaryan, (Rafel), (Siradagyan).

[Fedorov] That is, they answer according to the law.

[Arutyunyan] Everyone is equal under the law. And anyone who is guilty and anyone who has violated the law must bear full responsibility.

[Fedorov] It is now clear that the initiators of all of these disorders, of the tragedy which took place in your two fraternal republics, were people from the so-called Mafia, people from corrupt clans. Comrade Volskiy in his recent television appearance gave the figure for the so-called black economy turnover as R10 billion. Of course it is hard for these people to give up such an income. For them, restructuring and all the democratic transformations which are now taking place in our country, both in the social and in the economic sphere, are like a bone stuck in their throat. That is why they unleashed all of these disorders. What is being done in the republics to combat organized crime? Is there an antidote to it? Comrade Mamedov, please.

[Mamedov] Organized crime does exist in the republic. One can speak of this specifically and frankly. And, as a result of this, a decision has been adopted in the republic to set up a special directorate to combat organized crime. Various facts have already been covered in the press, in particular in PRAVDA. We uncovered a group of officials in the system of the ministry of automobile transport. Six people were arrested. An investigation is under way. In the second half of 1988 alone, officials of the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs, together with representatives of the criminal investigation department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, uncovered over 1,000 crimes in the economic sphere.

[Arutyunyan] Similar work is being carried out by the ministry of internal affairs of the Armenian SSR. Hundreds of instances of theft of state property have been uncovered. One of the more striking examples took place in January, 1989 when we arrested a group of people from the savings banks system. (Abovyan), head of the republican savings banks directorate, and several heads of rayon directorates were arrested. The investigation is continuing.

[Fedorov] Comrade ministers, a last question for you. The people of Azerbaijan and Armenia, over many centuries, have been brothers, friends, colleagues. Never before has anything like the events that have recently taken place happened between them. Well, what do you see your role as being, as those in charge of bodies entrusted with the protection of law and order, so that the seeds of enmity and hatred sown by some individual extremists, for their own mercenary interests—something that has been proven—do not grow further and, moreover, so that the memory of them disappears forever?

[Mamedov] We are currently reestablishing our traditional ties. We have already had four meetings with the Armenian Minister of Internal Affairs during the past month and a half. An interdepartmental commission has been set up. Specific measures have been approved. They are aimed at improving mutual understanding and support, mutual aid to each other. Meetings on the level of those in charge of sections of the service have already begun. Leaders of neighboring rayons, town and rayon bodies, and officials from among middle management are holding meetings. Good relations are being established between the employees of internal affairs bodies of the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's. I think that this work will, so to speak, facilitate a further improvement in relations between the two fraternal peoples.

[Fedorov] Usik Surenovich, please go ahead. Do you wish to add anything, or has everything already been said?

[Arutyunyan] It is difficult to add anything to what Aydyn Israfilovich has said. The only thing I can say is that the two ministries of internal affairs, in close cooperation and jointly with the party and soviet bodies, should carry out this work for the sake of the future, for the sake of friendship and good-neighborliness and brotherhood between their two peoples.

Nagorno-Karabakh Ethnic Situation Reported

LD0902231989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report from Nagorno-Karabakh by special correspondents V. Ryazanov and V. Krasnoyarskiy, identified by screen caption, remarks by correspondents unattributed; date not given, recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Shusha is a health resort high in the mountains, one of the towns in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. Most of the people living here are Azerbaijanis: a year ago, there were Armenians as well. Today, in the streets, in factory workshops, work done together by citizens of the Azerbaijani and Armenian nationalities is unfortunately more often the exception than the rule, whether here in Shusha, in Stepanakert or any other settlement in the NKAO. This is the sad result of last year's exacerbation of interethnic relations in the region. How can people's lost home and work be returned to them, how can the former goodneighborly relations be restored? These are burning and urgent questions, and people take them to the Committee for the Special Administration of NKAO and its representatives.

[V.D. Dzhafarov, first secretary of Shushinskiy Raykom; identified by screen caption] We are now working in a purposeful manner, we are conducting work more actively and to the point, more in real earnest.

[Correspondent] In the Committee for Special Administration, Vahid Dzhafarovich, you represent the interests of the Azerbaijani community.

[Dzhafarov] I have already managed to help some people, but not all questions can be resolved at present—time is needed for that. Many problems confront us, big problems, mainly concerning normalization of relations—we have big problems of interethnic relations. But we are intent on resolving this issue on the basis of justice alone.

[Correspondent] Normalization of interethnic relations is the most acute problem here at the moment. But what about Communists, what can they do, how can they exert a positive influence on the way the situation is going?

[Dzhafarov] I think that as in everything, in this matter too, Communists should be the vanguard. In order to live in a normal way, they must do more than ever before.

NKAO Militia Official Interviewed

PM1002155389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Morning Edition p6

[TASS account of interview with R. Tumanyants, chief of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Internal Affairs Administration, under the rubric "From the Local Press": "Nagorno-Karabakh: Return to Calm"]

[Text] Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—In line with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree, internal affairs bodies in Nagorno-Karabakh

Autonomous Oblast are conducting their activities under the direct leadership of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Special Administration Committee. Everyday members of the autonomous oblast's internal affairs administration submit reports at committee staff sessions on the current situation and the measures being taken. The autonomous oblast's internal affairs administration is conducting its work in close contact with internal affairs bodies in Azerbaijan and Armenia.

The problems being solved by militia workers in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast were discussed recently in the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH, which published an interview with Militia Lieutenant Colonel R. Tumanyants, chief of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast Internal Affairs Administration. We now print a TASS account of this interview.

Question: The time has now come to take a sober look at events. Could you highlight the most characteristic stages in the development of the conflict?

Answer: I think that a comprehensive, in-depth analysis of the events in and around the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast still lies ahead. These events have given sociologists, psychologists, and economists something to think about. I would simply like to warn them against being too hasty in their conclusions. I do not think I am mistaken when I say that the situation in the oblast began to sharply deteriorate about a year ago, when the most painful, complex problems of interethnic relations, social policy, the economy, education, culture, and cadre training and placement began to be solved on the basis of so-called soapbox democracy. Passions began to gain the upper hand over reason, and irresponsible appeals by certain people incited both the Armenian and Azerbaijani population. This was exploited by nationalist, criminal, and corrupt elements. The events in the settlement of Askeran and the Sumgait tragedy were the result. There have been floods of refugees. The problems connected with finding them somewhere to live and work have sometimes been dealt with in an ill-considered fashion.

The reaction to these interethnic conflicts by law enforcement bodies and by the militia in particular was inept, often came too late, and at times made the situation worse. The atmosphere became extremely heated.

A new wave of massive riots and pogroms started after the events in the village of Khodzhaly in Askeranskiy Rayon. During the period 18-20 September alone last year, a total of 474 crimes committed on the basis of interethnic conflict were registered in the oblast. This situation led to the introduction of the special situation and the curfew in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

Thanks to the efforts of internal forces, Soviet Army servicemen, and specially assigned militia forces, order has been established and the bloodshed, pogroms, and arson attacks have been stopped. Citizens' safety and the protection of their property have essentially been ensured. Suffice it to say that, since the introduction of the special situation and the curfew throughout the territory of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Agdamskiy Rayon in the Azerbaijan SSR, not a single crime committed on interethnic grounds has been registered.

Touching on the question of instituting charges against those responsible for starting the riots in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, R. Tumanyants noted that the approach to them is strictly differentiated, in line with the requirements of the law.

The mass riots in the village of Khodzhaly, for example, involved virtually its entire Azerbaijani population and some 2,000 Armenians. It would be wrong, from both a legal and political standpoint, to bring criminal charges against all the people somehow involved in these events. Consequently, during the investigation conducted by the USSR Prosecutor's Office, most attention has been devoted to establishing and exposing the organizers, inciters, and active participants in the mass riots. Criminal charges have been brought against K. Mamedov, who has not worked anywhere for a long time, and A. Khudoyarov, who has two previous convictions, from the village of Khodzhaly, as well as D. Grigoryan, an inhabitant of Stepanakert who also has a previous conviction. These people were most actively involved in the riots. The investigation also found another eight people guilty of committing a crime. However, considering that the actions of these people did not cause serious consequences and that they all provided frank evidence, repented of their crimes, and received good character references from their places of work and residence, the criminal charges against them have been dropped. Their labor collectives have taken them on probation.

Other factors are also being taken into account. Among those released on probation is B. Shirinov, a sovkhoz worker. He is the father of nine children, and the investigation naturally took this considerably important circumstance into account.

Question: Some press publications have said that the leaders of the Karabakh movement belong to a corrupt group. Is this true?

Answer: I would refrain from accusing all the leaders and members of the movement of corruption. It is true that A. Manucharov, former director of the Stepanakert Construction Materials Combine and an active participant in last year's events, is currently under arrest. In addition to him, criminal charges are also being brought against a whole group of people, mainly working people from the above enterprise and from the civic services bureau. They are charged with embezzlement and bribetaking. The investigation and the court will reveal the extent to which each one is guilty. Some forces, of course, would like to lend a political aspect to these criminal actions. Consequently, they are spreading rumors that law enforcement bodies are supposedly going to victimize all members of the movement. A number of press publications are inflammatory and provocative. Again, I repeat that the approach is strictly differentiated: Those guilty will get what they deserve. Decent people have nothing to fear.

Appraising the actions of members of internal affairs bodies, R. Tumanyants noted that last year's events were a serious ordeal for them. Not everyone stood the test. Some members have themselves descended the slippery path of extremism. Over the past year, six people have been dismissed from internal affairs bodies.

Stepanakert Special Committee Discussed

LD1002155989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] At the Stepanakert party gorkom a meeting has taken place between the propagandist aktiv of the oblast center and members of the Special Administration Committee of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast—Sidorov, Plisov, and Dyatlov, deputy chief of a department of the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting was opened by (Atadzhanyan), first secretary of the party gorkom. He noted: The Special Administration Committee, which was created in accordance with a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has been functioning in the oblast for 3 weeks. Figuratively speaking, a transitional period is now under way to dynamic rates of development from the stagnation in which the oblast found itself. The ensuring of these rates is seen in the introduction and broad assimilation of regional financial autonomy on the basis of economically independent oblast production associations in virtually all sectors of the national economy and the development of mutually beneficial partner relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia in industry and in agricultural production, science, and culture.

Ties with central ministries and departments are growing stronger. With the active participation of their leaders and experienced specialists, a detailed study of immediate and future tasks is under way. Thus, for example a decision has virtually already been taken to create a publishing association in the oblast. The question has also been resolved on the transmission over the greater part of the territory of television and radio broadcasts from Baku, Yerevan, Moscow, and Stepanakert itself.

The wishes of believers are being considered attentively on widening possibilities for the conducting of religious rites, and in particular, on the opening of churches. As a whole, both the creation of the committee and its first steps have encountered support from the population in the oblast. But one ought also not to close one's eyes to the fact that there are people for whom the stabilization of the situation is not convenient. They would like to continue rocking the boat, regardless of the consequences. You see the time has now come when the value of a person is determined not by vocal chords but by the skill to organize matters, and it has become clear tht many recent leaders have nothing to their name. People are moving away from them and, in order to hold their ground, these loudmouths resort to everything, going as far as calls for new strikes, and for demands to break off all relations with the Azerbaijan SSR, to halt the struggle against corruption, and so on.

Comrade (Atadzhanyan) said that we see in this a call for destabilization, an attempt to once more throw the oblast into the quagmire of chaos and stagnation and to cancel out prospects for rebirth. A new spiral of destabilizaiton would be a dreadful blow to us.

The Committee has been given broad rights and authority, but least of all would we like to use ways and methods of the times of the administrative-command system, or to put our trust in orders and prohibition. To go along such a path means not to resolve questions but to drive the disease in deeper. We are in favor of a frank dialogue and honest cooperation.

With these words Sidorov, member of the Special Administrative Committee, began his speech. In particular he noted that the Committee has not yet once used its right to halt or even curb the activities of any kind of organizations, structures, and informal associations. Yes, unfortunately, there are still people who consider strikes to be virtually the only way to resolve all problems, but what is the price of these questionable means?

For example: What did the strikes last year cost the people of Stepanakert? Of the 35,000 square meters of housing which should have been put to use, only 2,500 were handed over for use. There was a shortfall of R4 million in wages. Not one school, hospital, preschool establishment or children's establishment was built.

So who benefitted from this? This is why we tirelessly repeat that today we need stable work as much as we need air and bread, and why we call to it all working people of the oblast, regardless of nationality. Incidentally, here and there the question is being raised that there are few representatives of the population of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous oblast in the membership of the Special Administration Committee. But you see the main thing is not in proportions, not in increasing the numerical strength of the committee, but in efficiently resolving the tasks which face it. It is precisely active participation in the fulfillment of specific plans which is unfortunately lacking today in many local leaders of enterprises and organizations.

Here is a characteristic example: Town libraries and a music school are being housed in emergency buildings, while flourishing alongside in splendid premises are a mass of establishments, with assembly halls, halls for playing tennis and individual studies. The only things that bother the heads of these offices are personal cars. Every chief has his little establishment, his armchair, and his narrow departmental interests.

Answering questions further, Comrade Sidorov noted that a group of the USSR Procuracy which is working in the oblast has put at the center of its work the exposure of crimes by dealers in the black economy. Here and there some of them are today trying to distort things, to depict themselves as victims of the national movement. But has at least one honest person from that Krunk committee been detained and committed to court? Yes, at least we have not been in agreement with certain of their aims and tasks and methods. We dispute and compare positions. We are conducting a dialogue with all who are motivated by concern for the fate of the native land.

Bribetakers, swindlers, and petty thieves are another matter. There will be no dialogue with them, no matter what kind of patriotic speeches they make. Here the investigator can conduct the conversation.

Plisov, member of the Special Administration Committee, reported that it is intended to build a compound feed works and to reconstruct the water and electricity supply systems in the oblast. These questions are not simple. At present detailed work is being carried out on such decisions as expanding individual building through allocating additional plots of land and organising widescale sales of construction materials. Resolute measures are being taken for the full supply to kolkhozes and sovkhozes of seeds for the spring sowing and for improving commerce in the countryside.

The question of setting up a territorial body of material and technical supply subordinate to the USSR State Planning Committee is being studied in the oblast for the speediest solution of these problems, Dyatlov, deputy head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee, reported.

It is no secret that many leaders, having become carried away by holding endless meetings, have not concerned themselves with stocks of raw and other materials and have not signed contracts on deliveries. Although the situation remains extremely complicated, I think that our plans for this year will still be realistic. This year the state has already provided Nagorno-Karabakh with immense means for development in the form of loans, funds, and material resources.

The meeting dealt with many questions concerned with the operation of transportation, the militia, and the courts, the activity of health-care and education bodies. The meeting noted in particular, the low level of activity of public organizations such as trade unions, the Komsomol, women's councils, and councils of war and labor veterans. All present at the meeting concurred that it is only by joint efforts that the oblast can be lifted out of stagnation and the tasks of restructuring solved.

Ukrainian Republic's Anniversary Marked by Prayer

LD1002141589 Vatican City International Service in Ukrainian 0415 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] On Sunday, 22 January, in the square outside the Saint George Cathedral [location not further specified] a prayer was said in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the act which declared the West Ukrainian People's Republic and the Ukrainian People's Republic to be united within a single Ukrainian People's Republic. Nearly 15,000 people participated in the prayer.

With the aid of loudspeakers, the militia tried to hamper the prayer. However, this attempt to wreck the service was not successful.

Ukraine's MVD Evaluates 1988 Work Results

AU1302094889 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Feb 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] At its recent expanded session, the board of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs examined the results of the work carried out by the republic's internal affairs organs and subunits in 1988 and defined immediate tasks to uphold law and order and to intensify the struggle against crime under the conditions of forming a socialist law-governed state.

Internal Service Colonel General I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian SSR minister of internal affairs, and Militia Major General A.I. Borovik, chief of the Political Directorate, said in their reports that, notwithstanding the measures taken, the current situation in the republic remained complex. Particularly disturbing is the growing number of murders, assaults, rapes, burglaries, and robberies. Serious shortcomings were noted in the work performed by internal affairs organs in the struggle against organized crime. In Donetsk, Sumy, Chernovtsy, Voroshilovgrad, and Kharkov Oblasts, the number of habitual criminals continues to be high. Fires and traffic accidents have increased, and the number of persons who died in them totaled 8,000.

The board session strictly criticized the way crime prevention is organized among ex-convicts, spongers, and other persons who act against the law. Internal affairs organs still inadequately rely on assistance from the public, and are insufficiently using glasnost and the mass media.

Efforts have been made to enhance socialist legality among the personnel. Compared with 1987, the number of functionaries sentenced in 1988 for malfeasance on duty dropped by one-third. The number of citizens' complaints about improper acts on the part of the personnel decreased. At the same time some staff members proved to be unprepared for work under the conditions of glasnost and democracy. In 1988, the violations of socialist legality increased in the republic as a whole, and particularly in Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, Kirovograd, Vinnitsa, and Voroshilovgrad Oblasts, and in Kiev city. The number of cases that come to light, but are not reported, of criminal proceedings carried out in an unlawful manner, and of abuses of the part of those with official status, has not diminished.

In the adopted decision the board called on deputy ministers, branch services of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, chiefs of internal affairs, and air transport administrations, along with political organs, to take exhaustive steps to eliminate the shortcomings noted in the current official activity and in the education of the personnel of internal affairs organs and subunits. The chief of the internal affairs administration under Dnepropetrovsk Oblispolkom has been strictly admonished; and leaders of, and political organ chiefs in, internal affairs administrations under Donetsk, Zaporozhye, Voroshilovgrad, Crimean, Nikolayev, Odessa, Kharkov, Chernigov, and Cherkassy Oblispolkoms have been warned for their unsatisfactory work in the struggle against delinquency and their inadequate role in restructuring current official activity. Militia Colonel Ye. R. Lashchenko, chief of the South Ukrainian air transport administration, has been strictly reprimanded.

Participating in the proceedings of the board session were: B.I. Vykhristenko, deputy chief of the Public Law Department in the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; P.A. Andreychenko, chief of the clemency section in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; N.F. Kovalenko, chief of the administrative organs group in the Affairs Administration of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers; V.I. Zaychuk, Ukrainian SSR minister of justice; V.M. Yevtushenko, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Security Committee; and P.G. Tsuprenko, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Court. The session was addressed by Militia Lieutenant General V.K. Pankin, member of the board and chief of the main administration for criminal investigation in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Tensions Between Catholics, Orthodox in Ukraine

LD1002131889 Vatican City International Service in Ukrainian 0415 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Ukrainian Catholics in the Ukraine are exposing the political exploitation of their polemics with Orthodox believers. Soviet officials are exploiting contradictions between Orthodox believers, who are a minority in west Ukraine, and Ukrainian Catholics, Ivan Hel, chairman of the Committee for the Defense of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Ukraine [UCCh], stated at a press conference in Moscow yesterday.

This well-known representative of the UCCh also revealed that out of 350 churches which have recently been opened for use, two-thirds historically belong to the Catholics. Yet they have been handed over to the Orthodox parishes.

Ivan Hel then added that the opening of these churches is often accompanied by disputes and tensions between the Catholic and Orthodox communities. For example, on 18 January in Dorozhev, near Lvov, Orthodox churchgoers beat Catholics while militiamen refused to interfere.

According to various data, in western Ukraine there are over 4 million Ukrainian Catholics, while the local Orthodox community numbers only 1.5 million believers.

Kazakh State Planning Official Interviewed

LD1102094489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1139 GMT 10 Feb 89

[Text] Alma-Ata, 10 Feb (TASS)—"Kazakhstan is in favor of a strong center and strong republics," Kaly Abdullayev, deputy chairman of the Kazakh Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's State Planning Committee, has stated. He has given an interview to a TASS correspondent in connection with that republic's transition to regional financial autonomy, which is being prepared.

"The principles of self-management and self-financing which are now being laid down will be predominant in the activity of all sectors of the republic's economy," he stressed. A deep structural restructuring of Kazakhstan's industry is due in this process. The share of output of extractive enterprises in the overall volume of industrial production in Kazakhstan is presently 67 percent higher than in the country as a whole. While the republic's role in the development of the fuel and power industries is maintained, science-intensive production, the processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, and light industry will be developed as a matter of priority here. The volume of machine-building and metal-working output is intended to increase by 4.1 times by the year 2000.

Work is going on at the same time to review wholesale prices, in order to eliminate price "swings" for the output of extractive and manufacturing industries and to eliminate the causes which influence the reduction of sources of revenue. Kalyk Abdullayev said that the guidelines for the plan for economic and social development for 1991/95, which will contain the criteria for the development of the economy of the union republics, are now being considered.

Argument, Not Intuition, Needed in Ethnic Debate

PM1002094589 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 29 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Rudeness Is No Argument in a Dispute"]

[Excerpt] Pluralism of opinions has become a fact of our life. Disputes now arise for all sorts of reasons and for no reason at all. Simply because two persons have come together, and they naturally have two different opinions. It is rightly said that if the multiplication table actually affected people's personal interests even it would have been constantly disputed.

Look how difficult it is to arrive at a given decision. Someone claims that a monument should be erected right here without fail, someone else claims that it should be erected 148 meters further away and nowhere else, while a third person opines that there does seem be a need for a monument but certainly not the one that is the subject of heated debate. In such circumstances, it would be better to opt for a specialist's opinion. But his prestige has hit rock bottom because he became a specialist during the stagnation years and he is not trusted. Consequently, the issue is resolved not by dint of arguments but by the strength of a person's vocal chords and the toughness of his words which are always screamed out at the highest pitch. That is the point when we attain the glittering heights of pluralism, whose summit is illuminated by the most popular and incontrovertible word: "Shame!"

Here is a nice little example. On the one hand we hear: "Migration threatens the nation's interests and results in its Russification!" On the other hand we have: "It is man's inalienable right to live wherever he wishes. Any restrictions constitute coercion!" Followed by loud and clear chanting, on both sides, of the word: "Shame!!!" It does not, alas, bring us any nearer to the truth.

Of course, uncontrolled migration in our multinational country is fraught with the serious threat of the assimilation of relatively small peoples. It is absolutely necessary to control this process. This is because nations have the sovereign right to protect their interests. The only point is that it should not be exercised at an intuitive level. There is need for profound scientific elaborations, for substantiation of a normal level of migration which is not only free from any dangers but actually prevents exclusiveness. But it is jollier and more amusing to conduct a dispute if you don't have to bother about adducing arguments. This is what a lot of people do, failing to notice the utter fruitlessness of such verbal exchanges. Apart from, of course, the emergence of mutual mistrust and hatred. [passage omitted]

'No Point' in Estonian Okrug Election Meetings

PM1102171189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Interview with A. Almann, chief of the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Soviets Department, by correspondent L. Levitskiy: "Without Okrug Meetings"; date, place not given]

[Text] It has been decided to dispense with okrug election meetings in the Estonian SSR. The right to choose has been left entirely to the voters. A. Almann, chief of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium Soviets Department, comments on what is new in election practice at the request of IZVESTIYA's correspondent.

[Levitskiy] Arne Yokhannesovich, candidate USSR people's deputies have already been registered in 16 out of 36 territorial and national territorial okrugs. But there has not been a single okrug election meeting.

[Almann] Nevertheless, nothing has happened. There has not been a single complaint either from the candidates or from the labor collectives and public organizations which nominated them.

[Levitskiy] What complaints can there be?—all the candidates have been registered....

[Almann] No, not all. They have been registered provided there has been no violation of the nomination procedure or the procedure for drawing up documentation, and provided the candidate's written consent to run in the okrug has been received. Violations have been noted, and people have withdrawn. But this is the exception. Only a few people have pulled out of the election debate.

[Levitskiy] Did practically all undergo preelection selection?

[Almann] There was not any. The okrug election meeting is allocated the role of a "sieve." However, under Article 38 of the new Law on Elections, an okrug meeting may be held in an okrug in which more than two candidates have been nominated. Note: Not must, but may be held. That is, the okrug electoral commission determines whether or not there will be one. It is the general opinion, which I as a jurist share, that there is no point in erecting a barrier between the candidates, the electoral commission, and the voters. Particularly when there are, on the whole, few candidates. More than 200 people are aspiring to 36 deputies' seats today. An average of six candidates per okrug. Now imagine that the participants in an election meeting leave just one candidate—they have this right. All the electoral commission can do is register him. And you and I have to vote for a single candidate. Everything has essentially been decided without our involvement. The voter is deprived of the independent right to choose. Moreover, someone might wish to use an election meeting as a means of implementing the recommendations of higher organs and as a method of realizing group interests. No, let the voter himself choose from among five or six candidates and really support his own chosen one and his platform.

[Levitskiy] Does such a situation not frighten you personally with its unpredictability?

[Almann] I myself would vote for the majority of candidates even today....

[Levitskiy] But it is not easy to choose one from among five or six aspirants. It is still harder for an aspirant to a seat to collect the legal majority of votes.

[Almann] Of course. And it is quite obvious that a second election will have to be held in certain okrugs. But the law provides for this too.

The editors also asked R. Romanov, inspector of the Central Electoral Commission's organizational-instructional group, to comment on the situation:

"The decision adopted by the Estonian SSR okrug electoral commissions really does not run counter to the law. We have already encountered similar situations, albeit on a somewhat smaller scale. In a number of Lithuanian SSR okrugs, for example. Only I would like to elaborate: As is known, the deadline for candidates' registration expires 23 February, and it is perfectly possible that okrug meetings still might be held."

Estonian People's Front Recalls 1920 Tartu Treaty

LD1002140689 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 2 Feb 89 p 3

[Article entitled "Message of the Board of the Estonian People's Front on the 69th Anniversary of the Tartu Peace Treaty," signed by Heinz Valk, chairman of the Board of the Estonian People's Front"]

[Text] The Board of the Estonian People's Front expresses confidence that when creating political developments, one needs to consider, alongside established realities, also the true origin of these realities. One cannot found a law-governed state upon a historically distorted basis.

In this connection the Board of the Estonian People's Front considers it necessary that when dealing with the questions which concern the relationship between the Estonian SSR and the central authority of the Soviet Union, and with questions concerning nationality relations, and when passing judgement accordingly, it should be taken into account how the joining of Estonia and other Baltic states with the Soviet Union took place. It is a well-known historical fact that Estonia's entry into the composition of the Soviet Union in 1940 did not take place voluntarily, but by force. It was a military occupation followed by annexation. We view the recognition of this fact as a neutral precondition of the search for paths to resolve the Estonian endeavors for sovereignty.

The full independence of the democratic Estonian Republic found recognition on 2 February 1920, in the Tartu Peace Treaty concluded between the Estonian Republic and Soviet Russia. This legal act has not forfeited its juridical significance even today. When striving for a law-governed state, one needs to turn to the juridical documents which deal with the relationship of Estonia and the Soviet Union, and to draw conclusions from them, which in the present-day conditions take into account the people's right to self-determination.

Latvian Press Conference on Crime, 'Vital Issues'

PM1002102089 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 31 Jan 89 p 3

[LATINFORM correspondent B. Sebyakin report: "No Secrets About Crime"]

[Text] What will be the next steps along the path toward creating a rule-of-law state? How is the further democratization of the activity of law enforcement organs to be ensured? What is the situation as regards the crime rate? These and many other questions were answered by leaders of the republic's law enforcement organs during a press conference held at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

The main sensation at the meeting was a report by First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Yu. Astakhov on the crime rate in the republic. For the first time journalists were able to study specific figures. These were hitherto considered secret. Those who are interested in crime problems knew before this that the crime rate in Latvia is one of the highest in the country. Now a specific figure can be given: In the past year there were 85.9 crimes for every 10,000 population in the republic. That is one-third more than for the country as a whole. A year ago Riga took first place among the capitals of union republics in terms of the crime rate. Juvenile crime was already extremely high in our republic. A total of 22,991 crimes were committed in the republic last year. Of these 17,532 came under the heading of criminal investigation, while 2,371 were classified as serious. In the country as a whole and in Lithuania and Estonia, our neighbors, the percentage growth is even higher than ours, but that is poor consolation, because it is important to take into account what the "starting point" was.

The crime curve went up sharply in the second half of the year. The results of the first 6 months inspired optimism: 400 crimes down from the same period in 1987. But then the situation changed drastically, and as a result there was an increase of 1,489 on the level of the previous year. The highest increase is seen in Moskovskiy, Proletarskiy, and Kirovskiy Rayons of Riga City, as well as Yelgavskiy and Rizhskiy Rayons. These five rayons accounted for two-thirds of the entire increase. In general, crime increased at a more rapid rate in cities under republican jurisdiction, where it rose by more than 9 percent. Over the same period in 10 rural rayons, and most significantly in Saldusskiy, Yekabpilsskiy, Balvskiy, Ludzenskiy, Ogrskiy, and Aluksnenskiy, crime fell, although in the rural rayons as a whole a rise of 3.4 percent is noted.

The main bulk of the increase was accounted for by mercenary crimes, in particular many thefts of personal property. An increase is also noted in serious crimes, of every kind: murder, grievous bodily harm, rape, robbery with violence. Although this growth is small in percentage terms, it does, after all, mean someone's life in each case.

The republic MVD attributes the serious situation regarding crime to the following factors. Last year, being concerned with very serious problems of political and economic transformation and ecology, we began to pay less and less attention to problems of law enforcement activity and combating crime. The activeness of the volunteer people's militias and Komsomol operations groups fell. Moreover many militia workers had to do a job they are not used to: keeping order at rallies, demonstrations, and marches.

The economic factor must also be taken into account. The chronic shortage of glass and rubber for cars, high quality video and radio equipment, and now also sugar, sewing machines, and many other goods prompts an increase in thefts of both personal and socialist property. More than 1,000 car windshields alone were stolen over the year!

Another factor. The fact is, the deputy minister said, that some important forms of crime prevention were forgotten. Criminal and administrative-legal measures for combating parasitism ceased to operate. And parasitism was always a breeding ground for crime. Persuasion does not influence the greater part of "clients" in this category. And at the same time, whereas only 5 years ago criminal proceedings for willful parasitism were taken against more than 1,000 people in a year, last year the figure was only 5.

In the deputy minister's opinion, because of the softening of the regime of detention in treatment and labor centers, the situation there has deteriorated markedly. The point is that often humanization measures—permitted absences from the treatment center, leave, exit passes—are nowadays regarded, especially by those with criminal records, as an invitation to permissiveness and anarchy. And at present the effect achieved is exactly the opposite of what was expected. Escapes, mass failures to report for work, and other serious offenses have begun to occur. In Yu. Astakhov's opinion the humanization process was not adequately prepared. The extent of social laxity of the treatment center clientele should have been taken into account more.

Questions of the crime detection rate were also raised at the press conference. In the conditions of the increased requirements for the quality of investigation and the exclusion of prosecution bias in investigation, some of the old forms and methods of crime detection no longer work fully. And the professional standard of a number of militia workers proved inadequate to resolve this difficult task in these conditions. The result: A significant number of crimes remain undetected.

The questions put to Yu. Astakhov also included the following: What are the proportions of the indigenous and other nationalities among militia staffers? The deputy minister reported that about one-third of militia workers in the republic are Latvians, while in Riga the figure is only 15 percent. Here one in four is fluent in Latvian, but a significant number only have a minimum knowledge of the language, and many are attending the Latvian language courses that have been set up in most subunits. The temporary solution to the problem was to institute interpreter posts within investigation subunits in rayons where the majority of inhabitants are of the indigenous nationality. The shortage of typewriters with the Latvian alphabet hampers the process of ensuring bilingualism.

A question about the formation of a special-purpose militia detachment in Riga was answered in the affirmative. Its daily task will be the protection of public order, Yu. Astakhov stressed.

Many vital issues were touched on in the questions put to Latvian SSR Prosecutor Ya. Dzenitis. Describing how his subordinates conduct the struggle against environmental pollution, he noted that last year 150 checks were carried out on these matters, and on the basis of the infringements discovered, 69 submissions were made to leaders of enterprises and organizations. They set forth the shortcomings revealed and proposed concrete measures to eliminate infringements of the law. On the basis of these submissions disciplinary proceedings were taken against 25 officials. In 36 cases administrative proceedings were taken against violators of nature conservation legislation on the basis of materials from the prosecutor's office.

Moreover the prosecuiton organs last year issued 15 orders on the impermissibility of infringements of nature conservation legislation. Official warnings were given to 56 officials. A total of 24 actions totaling R74,000 went to the courts for the recovery of material damage caused by infringements of nature conservation legislation. A total of 69 people were held materially responsible, and 4 criminal cases are currently under investigation on questions of environmental pollution.

Nonetheless the republican prosecutor acknowledged this work to be insufficient. Additional measures are planned for this year. There is an idea of raising at a coordinating conference of USSR law enforcement organs the question of setting up a special prosecutor's office to deal solely with questions of supervision of the implementation of nature conservation legislation.

On the subject of the Riga City prosecutor's office investigation into the case of mass hepatitis infection, Ya. Dzenitis reported that a submission has been prepared for the republic council of ministers, which proposes the adoption of a number of concrete measures. The Daugava River was investigated throughout its length. It emerged that the pollution does not all originate in Latvian territory. The question of ensuring the river's cleanliness can only be resolved by our republican government in coordination with the governments of Belorussia and the RSFSR.

The republican prosecutor explained to journalists in detail his position with regard to the "Helsinki-86" group and the Latvian National Independence Movement. He said that he agrees entirely with the assessment of these organizations given in Ya. Vagris' report at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee January Plenum. Ya. Dzenitis drew the attention of those present to the fact that the tasks set by these organizations are not in accordance with the aims of Communist building. The republican prosecutor stated that in his opinion the unconstitutional activity of the "Helsinki-86" group and the Latvian National Independence Movement should be stopped.

Among the questions put to republican Minister of Justice V. Skudra was one about guarantees that the land recently received by peasants for use in perpetuity will not be taken away again. In reply, the minister cited the Latvian SSR land code. Moreover a group of specialists at the Ministry of Justice have drawn up a Draft Law on Peasant Farms, which will provide for all the necessary guarantees. In the near future the draft will be published in the republican newspapers, and all the inhabitants of Latvia will be able to participate in discussing it. (The draft has been published—Editor.)

The question of a periodical publication by the Ministry of Justice was raised. It was announced that this publication will appear as an appendix to the "Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and Government Gazette."

On the question of the activity of the Society of Lawyers, V. Skudra explained that the members are now examining organizational matters and discussing the draft Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and the union republics. As for the draft new Criminal Code of our republic, the drafting is in progress, but it can only be finally prepared after the adoption of the country's Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation.

G. Zemribo, chairman of the Latvian SSR Supreme Court, devoted his address to journalists mainly to the problems of juvenile crime. It was stressed that they usually try not to give custodial sentences to juvenile criminals, but often there are so many "episodes" of various kinds on their record that it is simply impossible not to isolate them from society.

The press conference at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee lasted more than 3 hours. It is not easy, in a single report, even to mention all the topics touched on. But the meeting was held precisely in order to give journalists the opportunity to familiarize themselves more fully with the problems of the law enforcement organs' activity and to suggest topics for future articles.

A.Ya. Gruduls and T.L. Dushkevich, chiefs of Latvian Communist Party Central Committee departments, took part in the news conference.

Abalkin Interviewed on Cultural Change, Reform

PM1302103789 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview in Moscow with Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, by Observer Aleksandr Afanasyev: "Lunar Landscape, or What Will Grow in Our Social Soil? Academician L.I. Abalkin, Candidate USSR People's Deputy, Put This and Other Questions to Our Observer Aleksandr Afanasyev and the Newspaper's Readers"; date not given]

[Text] I made the acquaintance of this cultured man last summer, roughly 3 weeks before he became widely known. I recall his subdued checked suit, his rather toneless voice, his slicked-back dark brown hair, and his eyes peering over his glasses with attention and interest at his interlocutor. We got acquainted in Sweden, in the Haga government palace in a suburb of Stockholm. The green avenues were filled with the white northern sun.

"Leonid Ivanovich!" I hailed him. "Forgive me for starting up a conversation here. But as we are in the same delegation, I could not miss the opportunity...." Ten steps forward along the avenue, 10 steps back: I sensed old-fashioned human niceness in his manner of speaking and his entire appearance. He does not evade questions. If he cannot answer, he gives you a long sad look straight in the eye, as if to say: The answer is so obvious that it is just not done to speak of this, young man, among a knowledgeable audience.... He is easy to get on with. A little later I realized why. He does not address the entire Soviet press in your person, as famous people usually do. He addresses you. He is interested in you—and your viewpoint, if you have one, of course. I rechecked my impression. I said: The man has simply not yet grown accustomed to the role of a popular academician and director of a key institute. But 6 months have passed since the party conference which Abalkin addressed—and which he addressed, to put it mildly, in an unusual manner—dozens of interviews have been published, and his name has become a symbol of the economic reform, but he still looks you in the eye and seems to attach importance, real importance, to what a person thinks about a particular issue, regardless of post or rank.... Here is another detail from our first meetings. From when we had gotten to know and understand one another well: "I have never resorted to outside help. Now I feel I have exhausted all means. I will appeal to public opinion...." A few weeks passed. And he addressed the All-Union Party Conference. You know the rest....

He has had a difficult but successful year: In the age of glasnost criticism, too, gives rise to unplanned results. He has had a successful year, but a difficult one: The answers to many questions addressed to him depend, in the final analysis, not so much on him as on the state of the very productive forces and economic relations of which he spoke at the conference, and which cannot be renewed all together—even if you imagine the personal participation of Karl Marx in the processes taking place.

But he, Abalkin, has to answer. And he realizes this perfectly well.

I had hardly entered the office of the director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute before Leonid Ivanovich said to me, without beating about the bush:

"Forgive me, but your idea of reflecting for the umpteenth time on the reform, price formation, and so forth, did not excite me. Let us do this. Write: When I arrived at 27 Krasikov Street, Abalkin refused to answer the editorial office's questions, after which he himself asked several questions.... Agreed? Are you ready to answer them together with me?"

I at once agreed. True, there was a hitch with regard to readiness, for it is not every day that you have to answer to an academician. But in the end I summoned up the effrontery and expressed readiness with my whole mien.

"In that case," Leonid Ivanovich slowly pronounced, "I must state this to begin with. In my view, the actions envisaged by the reform are, on the whole, justified. They are what a sensible person would do anywhere in the civilized world: There is no alternative, and we must halt the slide toward the abyss and radically renew socialism.

"But it is now becoming clearer that the solutions are designed for certain social forces. And either they do not exist at all in our country, or they exist only in embryo, and this predetermines the complexity and the length of the processes which we have to go through."

[Afanasyev] That is, we have forced a closed door in the belief that masses of entrepreneurs, figures, and bosses were knocking on the same door from the other side—but we have only opened the door a tiny bit, by a centimeter or so, and now we can see that there are no figures!

[Abalkin] There are. But there are few of them for such a vast country, extremely few. If not the administrative system, then something else must take on the load? What? Society?

[Afanasyev] Society, Leonid Ivanovich. True, if the muscles have atrophied, society is hardly capable initially of keeping even itself upright....

[Abalkin] Just so! And we must together calculate what means are necessary and how long it will take in order, following the chosen course, to restore the life-giving layer, the soil, or, if you like, the social humus without which a new quality of life cannot be cultivated. [Abalkin ends]

Leonid Ivanovich said, and I tried to picture, what is happening now. We are, as it were, holding before us a book in which useful socioeconomic prescriptions have been written over the millennia: What must be taken and in what proportions, and when must it be sown? We take, sow, and water. But...it does not grow. Or if it does grow, it does not do so as sturdily as the prescriptions state. The secret is simple: No prescriptions in the history of world civilization have provided for the dramatic moment when seeds have to be cast not onto soil but onto stones. The lunar landscape remaining after great and impressive cataclysms is beautiful, but it is, alas, not a beauty that can save the world. It is by no means life that such beauty promises....

Social humus is the culture of labor, every-day life, and contacts accumulated over decades. It is knowledge carefully passed from generation to generation. It is the attitude to your own rapidly passing life, to everything that goes to make up life, as something of value. To people, known and unknown, to things, your own and other people's. To the implements and fruits of labor which you have to use in one way or another.... When this life-giving humus does not exist, dirt accumulates and turns to stone in its place. Drunkenness, long lines, loutishness everywhere—from buses to workplaces—slashed seats in suburban electric trains, humiliation and disparagement frequently seasoned almost with voluptuousness.... It is a still greater misfortune that we usually prove incapable of showing purgative indignation. Our displeasure blows over. We explode over trifles. We burst with irritation—at the past and at each other.

[Afanasyev] How many years will it take?

[Abalkin] Let us calculate. This is my first question. I recently visited a large radio manufacturing plant which once started from zero. The plant now has a backbone of high-class professionals. And it produces equipment of very decent quality. But it took 25 years to grow to this level.

[Afanasyev] Twenty-five years!

[Abalkin] That is if you start right from zero. But we must finally summon up the courage and say frankly: With our state of productive forces it is virtually impossible to attain world standards in 2-3 years.

[Afanasyev] Productive forces, Leonid Ivanovich.... Do you mean modern machines? But they can be bought.

[Abalkin] I mean people above all. And the machines which these people make. I mean the topsoil. The production, technological, scientific, everyday layer. It was scattered by the winds of "transformations." We struggled for too long against education (in all social spheres—from farmers to professors), against above-average abilities and skills, and against the "unhealthy" instincts which have always supported life. We reversed too persistently to be able in a matter of years to "leap" into the quality of life which our highly developed neighbors achieved over decades or even centuries.

[Afanasyev] ?! [as published]

[Abalkin] Yes, over centuries. An argument developed at a recent international symposium: How long is needed to prove the advantage of socialism? Some said: Ten years. Others: Twenty. Then someone said: One hundred! Stormy objections were raised. Then I stood up and said: Colleagues, is it really that important how long? It is more important, as you realize, just to prove the advantage!

As for machines, they can be bought. But what are they without millions of skilled, caring hands. We will buy machines. You cannot "buy" the people.

[Afanasyev] It is difficult to argue with you, Leonid Ivanovich. But you are talking of some inconceivable times, when we are already accustomed to the assertion that we have been allotted very little time....

[Abalkin] Why make wild guesses? It is a question of making substantial progress in our development. It will probably take the efforts of one or two generations. But how many years—17 or 25—who knows?

[Afanasyev] But there is no need for guesses here. Look what zigzags there have been in our history. The sharp turn from war communism to the new economic policy. From the new economic policy through 180 degrees to Stalinist kolkhozes. A certain deviation from them. Then dairy cattle were surrendered to the meat plan, oil was found, and the stagnation style was established.... What guarantee is there that there will not be a change of course when one generation succeeds another?

[Abalkin] That is the second question to you.

Only I would deepen the problem formulated today. Of course, we must be concerned about guarantees of irreversibility. But both ebbs and flows lie ahead. So it is more realistic to ensure that during the ebbs we do not completely lose what we are now accumulating with great difficulty.

[Afanasyev] Do you foresee ebbs...?

[Abalkin] We must endeavor to be honest. Here is another episode. A foreign scientist said to me: The popularity of your restructuring is growing, but what will happen in 5-10 years? And I said to him: But surely any experience has limits? Even emotional limits, does it not? Therefore it is impractical to gamble on emotions, on an upsurge and explosion.... We have to have time to lay the groundwork for decades to come. When both I and even you are no longer here, this groundwork will only start working. And it will ensure another shift.

[Afanasyev] Good Lord, how long is it possible to go on talking of a bright future?

[Abalkin] Our trouble is that we talk a lot and build a lot (of ferroconcrete) but have relegated cultural building, this truly strategic potential of a power, to a third-rate task.... Turn to Japan, take a look at Sweden, which you and I have visited—any nation invests in the future, if only out of an instinct of self-preservation. And it scarcely dilates on this.... Superficially, this is like pouring into a bottomless pit. You will get a return neither today nor tomorrow. But there is continuity here! Someone in the thirties invested in the present-day Swedes. He is no longer alive, but they have a flourishing, high-quality nation that is full of strength.

[Afanasyev] In some 20 years' time we will probably realize that our ferroconcrete victories were nothing more than the excrement of civilization.

[Abalkin] Today's realization is already all the more bitter: No bricks and iron will patch the hole in national culture and intellect.

[Afanasyev] Last year, Leonid Ivanovich, two vice presidents of the U.S. Chrysler Company visited Viktor Bossert at the "RAF" association with regard to setting up a joint venture. They were most attracted, so they said, by the fact that they were dealing with the first elected Soviet director. And here they came out with a characteristic contradiction. Bossert, an energetic man, was in favor of installing equipment as soon as possible. The Americans were cautious: Let us first help you to "polish" the present technology and model.... Only then did I realize that this was not simple caution. It was something else. The Americans evidently understand too well that it is necessary first to "polish" the work force itself—otherwise the very modern, capricious equipment will simply be wrecked with hammers and sledgehammers: not with this intention, of course, but out of the very best intentions. This is what we are able to do. This is how we work at present.

[Abalkin] We have a certain mass misunderstanding of how strikingly different the industrial situation in the thirties is from the technological situation at the end of the eighties. It is possible to "catch up and pass" horizontally, by "crude" iron and riveting, without intellect, without virtuoso skill, by means of enthusiasm and physical strength. The gap now is a vertical one. A gap in education and culture—like a gap in epochs. You cannot cross this abyss through physical acceleration. Millions of quite different working people are needed!

[Afanasyev] I was recently at "Ekran" and spoke on a subject (I will not go into details) from which it could be seen in what way and to what extent our working person differs, let us say, from the Western working person. A very good producer proposed putting in an application [zayavka]. But at the same time he remarked: Would this not cause offense? For it would be like a slap in the face?

[Abalkin] Of course it would cause offense. But we probably need some kind of shock to make us at last take offense at ourselves! It's a shame, you know: Russia was renowned for its master craftsmen, and even now there are still master craftsmen and bosses, but there is no stratum of master craftsmen and bosses. There is no quality of the masses.... Here I mean managers, economists, and financiers. Our journalists boldly propose: The banks must be made the nerve centers of economic life. But will we find in our millions-strong country even 10 people who really understand bank policy? And leaders? For many of them are sincere when they turn the age-old peaceful grain-growing business into crippling battles for grain.... We must right now train a new generation of administrators, Soviet managers who are capable of directing without shouting, without banging their fist on the table, and who are able to see the distant prospects too.... And this again is a matter of more than one decade.

[Afanasyev] These battles, Leonid Ivanovich, these systematic expropriations expose with calendar precision wounds which will hardly cicatrize in a year. What buildup of social humus can there be if the "machine" set going during the times of war communism is still, with rare interruptions, equally efficiently mangling the managerial mentality?

[Abalkin] Only a machine can operate against a machine. This system, alas, is not only an apparatus. It is a tangle of relations which have grown into tens of millions of people: workers, kolkhoz members, agronomists, engineers, teachers, physicians, leaders. I specially put the leaders last. This is so. For without broad social support, without deep roots in the strong mass leveling psychology, conservatism would not long remain afloat.

[Afanasyev] Ideology has grown into psychology....

[Abalkin] Ideology has become psychology. Therefore I would support the action to implant the lease which you are implementing in Orel Oblast. I myself would willingly go there if I find the time during the next few months. It is necessary to create such socioeconomic islets and experimental, preferential zones. There is the hope that a system of renewed socialism will grow up out of them.

[Afanasyev] But will it grow up? Will they let it...? Although you refused to answer my questions about the "current moment," you cannot build a strategy without it. The editorial office receives hundreds of letters: The apparatus is putting increasingly strong pressure on enterprising directors and cooperative members. And now the Council of Ministers has adopted two new decisions, additional restrictions are being introduced....

[Abalkin] I will tell you frankly that what worries me is not the restrictions: It is still possible to discuss and argue here over which kinds of cooperative activity should be encouraged, and which not. What is indisputable is something else: Enterprising people are being placed under the department's control. But the direct opposite was envisaged according to the concept on which the economic reform was based. By setting up in competition with the state sector, cooperative members were to promote the destruction of the departmental monopoly. The very monopoly that led to stagnation, to a loss of quality.... As a result of the latest measures this monopoly will only be strengthened, and the present state will be preserved....

[Afanasyev] This question is now being discussed: From whom must land be leased? From the kolkhoz or from the Soviet power?

[Abalkin] From the Soviet power, of course. Otherwise it makes politicoeconomic nonsense! If it is a good kolkhoz, it will manage even without the lease crutch. And if the kolkhoz is ailing, what will we achieve with such subleasing? Will we close our eyes to the fact that a collapsed, unviable structure is essentially parasitizing on the living organism of the lease? What do we want: to discredit and stifle the present reform? To somehow justify "great changes" by sliding the results of real transformations under a dead skin? No? Thus the answer is unequivocal.

[Afanasyev] And yet the kolkhoz, viable or not, has received the land to use in perpetuity, has it not?

[Abalkin] In perpetuity means for life. And when the former owner dies, the land goes to his heirs.

[Afanasyev] I know, Leonid Ivanovich, that the institute which you head has drawn up an entire program for the liquidation of loss-making enterprises.

[Abalkin] Yes, and we propose making a saving of R20 billion out of this. This is real money to raise living standards right now. But I will make one correction: the liquidation of loss-making state enterprises. Cooperative members and lessees have suggested to us that they must be taken off the state balance and removed from the category of state enterprises, but if there are people wishing to lease an enterprise, why refuse them?

[Afanasyev] But what if there is no one wishing to do so? If no one wants its output? Or the ecological harm exceeds the economic benefit many times over?

[Abalkin] There are such enterprises. I spoke recently at the Council of Ministers. I was supported. A number of show closures must be carried out, in order to perfect the model of how to liquidate economic subdivisions which society and the state do not need, with the smallest social, economic, and political losses. The press could do a very great deal here. How about you? Will you undertake it?

[Afanasyev] Of course KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA will, Leonid Ivanovich. But we have a counterproposal: Why not start with the Baykal Pulp and Paper Combine, which is causing colossal harm to Lake Baykal and has become a real symbol of the conservatives' confrontation with restructuring...? The liquidation of the Baykal Pulp and Paper Combine would be a truly patriotic act. What do you think? Will the Council of Ministers support this? [Afanasyev ends]

Leonid Ivanovich smiled in reply:

"Let us first publish the proposal! And then we will see who supports it and who does not. My opinion is that we must urgently liquidate the Baykal Pulp and Paper Combine, without postponing it for years. In general, you know, there must be absolute values. We must not in principle calculate, as you said, whether the harm exceeds the good. If there is even 1 percent of harm, then there must be no question. Counting in such a case is not even pragmatism, but a primitive approach, mediocrity, a crime! It shows a lack of culture when, let us say, a trade union leader tries to convince you with figures that a plant needs a swimming pool and a sauna, and then the sickness rate will fall by so many percentage points.... It is high time to count not in terms of the machine tool, dear people, but in terms of health, of the genetic stock of the nation! I have noticed—the smaller a people, the more figures it has who think on a national scale. We are called a great people. But is the fate of a great people 'strapped' to production units? Thus, people who think on a grand scale must be consciously cultivated and educated. I cannot at once say how, specifically, to make the people's health, well-being, and culture into assets at the level of a patriotic absolute and a sacred object. This is a third question for me. But I am 100-percent sure that without this we will not survive as a great power.... I would like to appeal now to all thinking people who root for the country, to workers, peasants, and to the urban and rural intelligentsia. I appeal to patriots, citizens, and compatriots. We are now in a difficult situation such as our motherland has not experienced for a long time. Emergence from the stagnant past means liberation from steadfast mass illusions, and above all from the illusion that 'all is in order' here, and that we have only to tighten loose screws. Let us be honest with each other: All is not in order here. What is most alarming now is the fact that we have forgotten how to work. But, still worse, we are not fully aware of this. We have not become conscious of this as a public disaster. We have not realized that we will be able only by using our own hands to drag ourselves, pardon me, out of the 'hole' in which we found ourselves when we 'freed' millions both from proprietary rights and from civic responsibility.

"We must learn again to respect the master within ourselves, to value honest, good-quality work....

"These are my questions, if you like. They cannot be answered by one person. But rivers, not just streams, are made up of single drops of common sense. We must gather up the people's experience, all who have something to say and something that they can share with the whole country: Write, speak, report. We have no other options. Otherwise we will not save and restore ourselves...."

From the editors: These are very alarming questions, and although they are apparently of a general, nonspecial nature, the academician and candidate USSR people's deputy evidently has good reason to pose them in their entirety right now, on the eve of the elections to the renewed soviets. We, for our part, subscribe to this proposal. Be sure to mark your letter to the editorial office "To Academician L.I. Abalkin." We await your ideas, advice, and views!

If you wish to clarify anything, telephone the editorial office on 257-26-49.

Sakharov Says Remark on Gorbachev 'Out of Context'

PM1302125489 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 9 Feb 89 p 11

[USSR Academician Andrey Sakharov 8 February news conference in Bologna, reported by Marina Garbesi: " 'Gorbachev's Future? I'm No Prophet'"]

[Excerpts] Bologna—[passage omitted] [Journalist] What future do you believe Gorbachev has?

[Sakharov] I am no prophet and have never spoken in such a capacity. However, there was recently a misunderstanding whereby a sort of prophecy was attributed to me. I am referring to the interview published by LE FIGARO and reported in Italy (it has been disputed several times; in it Sakharov said that Gorbachev is very unlikely to succeed and is in danger of having to submit to a policy imposed by others—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note). Actually a single sentence was taken out of context from a conversation in which I was trying to explain our electoral system. I consider restructuring a historical necessity, a process that will in any case not stop, despite many complications and contradictions. Precisely because of these difficulties any forecast should be made by specialists, and not by me. I know that it was Gorbachev and his closest advisers who set restructuring in motion, and I greatly respect their commitment, but for this very reason I also feel entitled to criticize when I feel that decisions are unfair or not understood. [passage omitted]

[Interviewer] Is it possible to create a stable opposition in the Soviet Union?

[Sakharov] As for pluralism, it is still beyond the horizon visible to us now. My opinion is that it is an essential step toward the attainment of restructuring. Unless we achieve this step, the others will be unattainable too.

[Journalist] What is restructuring: political reform or economic recovery?

[Sakharov] Restructuring should have three aspects. The first is foreign policy, and this is where the most genuine changes have occurred. Then there is the economic aspect, while the last concerns constitutional reform to resolve the nationalities problems. Actually the third aspect has never even been officially announced. Often all we have is just words and empty declarations. All these aspects of restructuring are closely interlinked and no one objective is more important than the others. However, the fact that Gorbachev has understood these connections is definitely a good thing.

[Journalist] Having recently visited Armenia, can you tell us how people there are experiencing restructuring?

[Sakharov] I formed some very strong impressions on my visit to Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Azerbaijan. My wife and I spoke with refugees from both sides: People feel they have suffered a great injustice, are afraid, and do not want to turn back. The situation is very serious. The decision to remove the administration of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan is certainly correct, but has created very strong tensions. Furthermore, the arrest of members of the Karabakh Committee has created further prisoners of conscience in the USSR. Now, partly as a result of the earthquake, Armenia is living in a state of shock.

[Journalist] The new course has led to the release of political prisoners, which has been received in the West as tangible proof of change. However, Solzhenytsin does not believe in it and refuses to return home. Is restructuring not just a public relations policy for display to the West?

[Sakharov] The release of many prisoners of conscience was a very important measure but is only a small part of the democratization process, which has only just begun. In some respects we are also taking several steps backward. Furthermore, though it is true that they have been released, none has been rehabilitated, that is, declared innocent. My wife, sentenced in 1984, left exile with me because she was pardoned. So not even she has been recognized as innocent. Hitherto only dead people have been rehabilitated in our country.

Writer Aytmatov Interviewed on Socialist Progress

AU1102170089 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH
in Bulgarian 9 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Chingiz Aytmatov by Feliks Medvedeyev in Moscow, published in Issue 2 of special page produced jointly with NOVOSTI under the rubric "Brotherhood," and entitled: "Seeing the Light"; date not given]

[Text] The telephone rang around midnight: "I am ready to talk to you," he drawled slowly. "Come over now, if you want." Minutes later, my taxi was speeding to the other end of Moscow, and I was feverishly thinking over what we would talk about. It seemed to me that the readers already knew everything about Aytmatov. Much more has been printed about him than by him, and he has given innumerable interviews. Only yesterday Aytmatov was supposed to meet with journalists; now a new day was beginning, which meant a new dividing line for existence, especially in times like ours, when every hour that one lives through lies heavily on the scales of history, and any of them may mean a new epoch. Meanwhile, millions of people listen to the voice of the famous writer.

Indeed, Chingiz Torekulovich started off right away by talking about the most important, topical, and vital themes.

[Aytmatov] At last we have seen the light. It is terrible to think what might have become of us if everything had continued as it was, when action was replaced by ritual verbiage. Until recently, many of our ideas about life were couched in hackneyed references to "the most developed society in the world," "the most highly educated reader," and to the inevitable vanguard meaning of everything that related to the concept of "our native" achievements. In this self-bewitchment, we lost our sense of reality and of concrete facts and tried not to notice that the world had already overtaken us by far. Our goal receded from us, and, what is more, some of the postulates of socialism were displaced.

[Medvedeyev] I recall your words spoken 5 years ago. You said: "At present our history has hardly really begun, and only now will it become clearly apparent how mature our society is, to what extent it can be the master of the achievements that we possess. We must win, and it will be an unprecedented victory!" At the time, it seemed to me that you placed a special meaning in these words, spoken as far back as in January 1984, not in April 1985.

[Aytmatov] I have always sensed—probably like many others—the serious lack, and sometimes even complete absence, of democracy. Even today we are not fully prepared to accept it, as demanded by the natural order of things. Democracy involves great responsibility; it takes generations to inculcate it. It consists of the tolerance and respect of each person for the others, of one social stratum for the others. It is an incredibly difficult process to form a new view of the fate of society.

I consider that it is only now that the real meaning of socialism is being grasped. I believe that, in general, the highest goal of everything on earth is realized only through democracy. Any system can call itself what it likes, but if it provides no foundation for real liberation of the spirit, then it will achieve nothing. The concept of happiness is an individual one, but there also exists a concept of the happiness of society. Our society's happiness means clear and full democracy, from which all spheres of society and the whole of human existence are woven.

[Medvedeyev] It seems to me that such a time has already existed in our history, namely following the 20th CPSU Congress. Literary critics consider that this congress played a decisive role in our creative work. It was in this very period, from 1956 to 1963, that you wrote your "Tales of the Mountains and Steppes," which was awarded a Lenin Prize.

[Aytmatov] I am grateful to fate for those years. A host of writers were formed then, who even now make up the main leading force in contemporary Soviet literature. It is good that we were young then; this allowed us to preserve our inner sense of dignity for many years. However, whereas those times were rather a foretaste of hope, our present time is one of the irreversibility, realized by all, of the changes being carried out. For this reason, I expect a truly volcanic eruption in the world of art and culture. This is especially important, because you see authors who are following in the footsteps of Valentin Rasputin; in their work, the phrase "and the Word was God" has lost its ancient meaning.

Now the time has come for great discoveries. If a major novelist or poet appears tomorrow to amaze us, this will be in the natural order of things. Let new writers take the place of our entire generation; we will accept this as something for which we have long waited.

[Medvedeyev] It seems to me that this process is not so easy, nor so painless. In order to establish democracy, the concept "tomorrow" is evidently quite a long-term idea. Moreover, not all men of letters understand and accept all the new things in our country. It is no accident that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, at one of his recent meetings, used the byword "settling personal accounts," having in mind happenings far removed from intellectual activity.

[Aytmatov] To use internal cultural disputes to resolve individual or group relations is a fruitless path, one that can never lead to productive achievements. It is an old but true saying that hatred ravages man. I know young writers who are infected with envy. I also know others who fail to learn wisdom with age, and are ready for anything, taking revenge on everybody for their own chronic infertility. It is high time for all of us to realize that life is truly brief, and the longer a man lives, the more profoundly he should accept it as the supreme happiness, and not as a motive for belatedly making his own name at any price.

[Medvedeyev] Is it true that your father and brother fell victim to the unjustified repressions in the thirties?

[Aytmatov] Yes, it is true. However, even if this fact did not exist in my biography, I would still have opposed with all my strength the cult of personal power. To this very day, many fail to understand what an immense personal drama the cult of the Soviet society was, and what a blow it dealt to the image of socialism. If we manage to liberate ourselves once and for all from the complex of this terrible legacy, then this will be a great victory for restructuring!

[Medvedeyev] I listened to my interlocutor. I sensed that every word he spoke was based on bitter experience and was carefully considered. I did not interrupt him. It seemed to me that the conversation with him was turning out to be a passionate monologue on the most burning problems of our life.

Belorussia Continues To Feel Effects of Chernobyl

*PM1302100189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
11 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3*

[Interview in Minsk with M.V. Kovalev, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, by correspondent A. Simurov: "Not To Be Forgotten. The Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers Chairman Describes How the Aftermath of the Chernobyl Accident Is Being Surmounted"; date not given]

[Text] The 24 January CPSU Central Committee Politburo session discussed the state of affairs in the Belorussian SSR rayons subjected to radiation contamination as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. Central and local organs have been entrusted with taking additional measures to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident. PRAVDA readers A. Gerasimov and 107 others from Vitebsk, F. Vinichenko of Khoynikskiy Rayon, I. Prokhorenko of Kalinkovichskiy Rayon, and others ask the editors to describe in greater detail the situation in the afflicted rayons. PRAVDA's correspondent talks about this with M.V. Kovalev, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers.

[Simurov] Mikhail Vasilyevich, readers' letters and also certain mass media have begun accusing the Belorussian SSR Gosagroprom and Ministry of Health almost of being in collusion. They are said to be indifferent to the collective irradiation of people and are thereby setting a time bomb which might blow to pieces the genetic system of an entire people. What would you say to this?

[Kovalev] I will reply very definitely: That is the fruit of an unbridled imagination. These are the facts. Conditions during the first period demanded the evacuation of the residents of 107 population centers. The government took that measure without delay. In all, 24,700 people were evacuated. In Gomel Oblast alone 107 new settlements were constructed for evacuees. This means 9,770 apartments in homestead-type houses with outbuildings. Add to this more than 600 social-consumer and cultural projects.

In order to limit the spread of radioactive substances, all economic activity was stopped on the abandoned territory. Twenty kolkhozes and sovkhozes were liquidated, and 100,400 hectares of land were taken out of agricultural use.

In the zone of radioactive contamination of Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts, where the population has remained, 432 population centers have been decontaminated over the past 2 years, 214 livestock units and 96 mechanized yards have been provided with amenities, more than 4,500 dilapidated buildings have been demolished, more than 600,000 square meters of roofing and 698 km of fences have been replaced, and more than 800,000 cubic meters of radioactive soil have been removed. Some 650 km of hard-surfaced roads and 542 km of power transmission lines have been constructed, 1,128 km of water pipelines and 147 km of sewerage networks have been laid, 388 artesian wells have been sunk, approximately 3,000 water intake installations [vodozabornyye kolonki; possibly misprint for vodorazbornyye kolonki, meaning "hydrants"] have been set up, and a number of other jobs have been carried out. A package of agricultural amelioration and agrochemical measures has also been implemented over many hundreds of thousands of hectares—deep plowing, liming, the application of increased doses of mineral fertilizers, and the radical improvement of meadows and pastures. Capital investments to the tune of R904.5 million have been expended on carrying out all kinds of work on eliminating the aftermath of the accident.

All measures were carried out with scientific backup. In particular, a special Radiobiology Institute has been set up under the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences. A further 19 academy institutes are working on radiation topics. An Institute of Radiation Medicine with a clinic and medical center subdepartment has also been set up in the system of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Health. The "Aksakovshchina" Sanatorium of the fourth main administration of the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Health has been given over to housing them. A Belorussian branch of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Agricultural Radiology has been set up in Gomel. Radiation monitoring departments have been organized in 10 scientific research institutes of the Belorussian SSR Gosagroprom.

[Simurov] I would like to learn more specifically about the actions of health care organs.

[Kovalev] Here, too, practical work has been carried out since the first days. The entire population subject to clinical observation—and there are 171,000 of them—has been screened and registered. The "Registr" bank of medical and biological data has been set up to generalize the results of observation and draw up scientific recommendations. The bank includes data on all these residents, including 37,400 children.

The screening has shown that none of the evacuees received increased radiation doses in excess of the permissible norms. Here are the data of specialists at my disposal. The total radiation dose for residents of the permanently monitored zone amounted over 2 years to an average of 9 rem, but to less than 3.3 rem for the territory of the periodically monitored zone. The permissible (emergency) limit for the population's radiation dose during this period stands at 15.5 rem.

[Simurov] Why, then, is there talk of an increase in mortality in the rayons which suffered?

[Kovalev] Allow me to cite data for the clinical screening of the population subjected to the effects of radiation. Specialists have concluded that the structure of the overall sickness rate for the population of Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts did not change in 1988. The level of infant mortality over the past 3 years has had a steady downward trend both in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts as a whole and in the 14 rayons under observation. The increase in patients with malignant tumors in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts during 1986-1988 is no different from the perennial natural dynamics.

Apart from clinical examination, we are actively improving the population's health. Wider use has begun to be made of sanatorium and resort treatment and rest. More than 140,000 infants, schoolchildren, and adults from the zones which suffered restore their health every year in sanatoriums, rest homes, and young pioneer camps—on which approximately R30 million a year is spent.

I wish to draw your attention to another detail. The USSR Ministry of Health has adopted the concept of safe residence, which fully tallies with world scientific criteria on this question. In accordance with this concept, the limit of the individual radiation dose that a person may receive throughout a lifetime of 70 years stands at 35 rem. But the conclusion has been drawn on the basis of calculations that in the overwhelming majority of the population centers in the permanently monitored zone the life and activity of the population, following the implementation of a package of special decontamination and agricultural amelioration measures, can be ensured even without the restrictions introduced earlier.

Apart from this, there is a doubt that the measures being taken in a number of population centers in this zone will be able to ensure a reduction in their inhabitants' individual radiation dose to the prescribed limit of 35 rem. Therefore we are now once again clarifying the radiation situation in a number of places, and it is possible that inhabitants will have to be moved from certain population centers to new well-appointed settlements situated outside the zone of radioactive contamination. Taking into account the state of the housing stock, resettlement will be carried out in cases where the cost of decontaminating settlements exceeds the cost of building new ones.

The republic's party and soviet organs are making a big effort to preserve the health of the people living in the zone of radioactive monitoring. It is, of course, no easy matter. And it was no coincidence that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session examined our misfortunes and requests with exceptional concern and great attention. Fulfilling the Politburo's instructions, union organs have allocated to the republic for this year an additional R243 million out of state centralized capital investments to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident. Corresponding material resources and equipment are being allocated. Our chief task is to manage all this thriftily.

[Simurov] I have also heard the following arguments: There are two different truths about Chernobyl: The first truth, which is more complete and objective, is for IAEA specialists, while the second—abbreviated, quite cheerful, and optimistic—is for domestic consumption.

[Kovalev] There is just one truth: Full use is at once made of all authentic data on the radiation situation, as they come to light, in order to adopt the necessary decisions in the interests of people's health. They are reported to the government commission, which passes them on to the IAEA.

I declare with full responsibility that these data have always been reported, without any cuts or exceptions, also to the inhabitants of the population centers which they concerned.

It is another matter that, as life has shown, this practice leads to the appearance of unsubstantiated rumors and idle chatter among the rest of the population. Therefore we have now arrived at the firm conviction that we must more widely inform the republic's entire population, and not just the inhabitants of the rayons which suffered. To this end it has been decided to hold regular meetings of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers Commission to Eliminate the Aftermath of the Accident at the Chernobyl AES, of leaders of ministries and departments, of scientific establishments—of all who are tackling this problem—with representatives of the mass media and the public. The first such meeting, at which full coverage was given to the actual radiation situation and the problems that have arisen in this connection, was held 2 February.

[Simurov] How, then, are we to understand the chart of the radiation situation which is kept in armor-plated safes? Many people are demanding the publication of this chart with regard to oblasts and rayons.

[Kovalev] It is specialists, above all, who need charts of the zones of radioactive contamination in order to make valid decisions. And such charts have been available since 1986 in all organizations working to eliminate the aftermath of the accident, as well as on every farm situated in zones of radioactive contamination.

No one has made a secret of them. It is another matter that only now have the zones of contamination with radionuclides in the republic as a whole been finally specified. These charts were submitted for general perusal at the 2 February meeting. They have now been published in the republic press with appropriate commentaries by specialists.

[Simurov] A CPSU Central Committee Politburo resolution has extended the so-called permanently monitored zones. What does this mean for the population of the afflicted rayons?

[Kovalev] As I said at the USSR Supreme Soviet session 30 October 1988, the adverse effect of the accident at the Chernobyl AES and its aftermath is not diminishing on the republic's territory. The latest in-depth surveys have shown that the republic's territory is contaminated with radioactive fallout on a greater scale than was originally assumed. Almost one-fifth of agricultural land has been contaminated to varying degrees.

There are now 415 population centers (previously there were 408) in the permanently monitored zone in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts, on whose territory 103,000 people live. The population of this zone is subject to special monitoring. A money allowance of R30 a month is paid to every resident here, and there is a 25-percent wage supplement. These additional payments are to compensate for the population's costs in acquiring pure foodstuffs from stores in connection with the limited use of produce obtained from private plots.

[Simurov] I wish to readdress to you a question from A. Vasilyev of Gomel, who asks: "Why can our industry not organize the production of instruments so that every family is able personally to check all its food?"

[Kovalev] There is bitter truth in this question. We have created our own network of radiation monitoring centers which carefully check foodstuffs. Despite the fact that this complicates people's lives, it reliably ensures health safety. In order to avoid the situation whereby someone always has to run off to get a reading of the level of contamination by radionuclides of food that has been acquired or consumed, we would have to organize the matter so that every family can acquire a dose meter, like any other domestic instrument in everyday use. Hence our earnest entreaty to the USSR Ministry of Medium Machine Building and other union departments to organize the production of reliable portable instruments for sale to the population. This is all the more important because we in Belorussia, as specialists have determined, will have to be in contact with heightened radiation doses for decades to come.

[Simurov] It is known that over the course of 2 years Belorussian construction workers are to erect projects to the value of more than R160 million in the earthquake-hit Armenian rayons. At the same time we have been allocated an extra R243 million this year to treat the Chernobyl affliction [khvor]. How will construction workers be able to cope with such a program?

[Kovalev] The Armenian people's misfortune is also our misfortune, and we cannot remain unconcerned. Therefore, despite certain complexities (this year, in addition, Belorussian construction workers are building apartment blocks and other projects in the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone, in Tyumen Oblast, and on the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad), we are taking all measures to ensure the fulfillment of the tasks that the republic has been set as regards assisting the Armenian people.

When drawing up the construction program, we redistributed the targets among the oblasts. Construction workers from four oblasts will assist Armenia, while Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts will tackle the elimination of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster.

[Simurov] Have there been cases where the republic has refused any centralized assistance? I ask because one frequently hears such talk.

[Kovalev] The republic has never refused and does not refuse help in eliminating the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl AES. Our requests have always been examined by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers with great attention and understanding and have been resolved. These questions were also examined at the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session 24 January 1989. In all, it is necessary to channel capital investments worth approximately R700 million to these purposes during 1989-1990 in addition to the 5-year plan targets.

We have been and are being given great assistance in constructing apartment blocks and infrastructure projects in Gomel and Mogilev Oblasts by construction and installation organizations of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, and the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building and by others located on the republic's territory. The USSR Gossnab and the USSR Gosplan show understanding with regard to our requests. We hope that the USSR Gosagroprom will also step up its assistance.

[Simurov] Much, as we have ascertained, has been done. And now we are getting additional new funds and resources.... And yet, what anxieties continue to beset you as chairman of the government?

[Kovalev] Unfortunately, certain leaders and specialists involved in eliminating the aftermath of the accident, particularly in union organs, are making a somewhat less sharp assessment of the actual situation in this work and are relaxing responsibility in resolving the set tasks. Nothing else can account for the failure to fulfill government targets for the production and delivery to farms in the rayons which have suffered of hermetic tractor cabs, special equipment, monitoring and measuring apparatus, and chemical preparations to neutralize contaminated soil.

Our second sorrow is that we have so far been unable to achieve the maximal comprehensiveness of decontamination work. We have, unfortunately, still not been able to drive the radiation jinn back "into the bottle," that is, to limit the spread of radiation. We deep-plow the land, while dust blows off dirt roads alongside, scattering radionuclides. We stoke stoves and boilers with "dirty" peat and firewood and scatter radiation with the smoke to territories and buildings which have been cleaned. We hand over hundreds of thousands of tonnes of "dirty" grain and then do not know what to do with it. This is why we are particularly grateful for additional funds for bitumen, gas pipes, construction of power lines, release from grain deliveries, and so forth. All this will help us to overcome the Chernobyl disease more quickly.

Radiation Levels Published

LD0902143989 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 9 Feb 89

[Text] Minsk February 9 TASS—A detailed chart of the Republic's radiation situation was published today in the Belorussian press for the first time after the Chernobyl disaster.

The affected areas are subdivided into four zones depending on the level of the contamination with cesium, strontium and other heavy radionuclides. The first one, marked as the zone of alienation, adjoins the Chernobyl atomic power plant directly and has been declared an ecological preserve. The second zone comprises areas from which the population of 75 villages was evacuated. These lands have now been included in the preserve too.

The two other biggest zones call for permanent and periodic checks. They include over one thousand populated localities with a population of over three hundred thousand. The gamma-background there, in expert opinion, is not very dangerous for human health if all the recommended safety rules are observed.

Vladimir Yevtukh, chairman of the Government Commission for the Liquidation of Disaster Consequences and first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of Belorussia, said that the "level of radioactive contamination has decreased three- or even four-fold after the accident." He noted that the cumulative irradiation of people in the controlled zone amounted to 9 BER (biological equivalent of roentgen) in 1986-1988, and to 3.3 BER in other territories. The permissible level, corresponding to IAEA recommendations, amounts to 15.5 BER.

Nevertheless, medics do not rule out the possibility of even small irradiation doses affecting human health negatively. Doctors are particularly concerned about children. All youngsters, living in the affected areas, are taken to sanatoria and rest-homes in summer. The overall sick-rate in Mogilyov and Gomel regions has decreased due to improved medical care.

Normal economic activity continues in all the affected areas. The radiation level of farm products produced there does not exceed the permissible norm. Clean fodder, specially supplied by the state, is used to feed cattle.

Belorussia was able to reduce the disaster aftermaths substantially due to the all-round assistance of the other fraternal republics of the USSR, Vladimir Yevtukh said. He noted that the state had allocated Belorussia some 1.15 thousand million roubles.

Ukraine Official Interviewed on Chernobyl Effects

AU1002081989 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian 1 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, with a RATAU correspondent: "Chernobyl: Lessons and Conclusions"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] **The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined the progress made in implementing the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to eliminate the effects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES and made appropriate decisions. In this connection B.V. Kachura, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, gave a RATAU correspondent an interview.**

[Question] Boris Vasilyevich, 2 years and 9 months have passed since the accident. What has prompted the Central Committee Politburo to bring up the situation at the Chernobyl AES and events connected with it now? Were there not some special reasons unknown to the wide public?

[Kachura] Let me tell you bluntly: There were no, as you say, "special reasons" at all. The accident and the elimination of its effects have been at the center of our attention since the day that filled with pain and anxiety the hearts of the millions of people. [passage omitted]

The intense work carried out by many thousands of people has produced results. The situation has radically changed. [passage omitted]

But a great deal still has to be done. The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers decisions on the Chernobyl AES are long-term in character, and the monitoring of their implementation will go on for a long time, too. So we will go back to this issue repeatedly and pertinently. As they say, pulse has to be taken constantly. [passage omitted]

[Question] What main conclusion were drawn at the Central Committee Politburo session that examined the present situation?

[Kachura] I would divide the conclusions into two kinds. The first is concerned with medicine, people's health.

We will not deny that since the accident the population's confidence in the opinions and assessments offered by doctors has been noticeably shaken. And not without the doctors' own fault. S.P. Buryenkov, the USSR minister of health took an inconsistent and blurry position, as did his first deputy, Ye.I. Vorobyev, who was in charge of radiation medicine. Some of the republic's health service leaders also lacked initiative and sometimes went astray in their work. All this had an adverse impact on the organization of medical assistance, on information for the population, and on efforts to provide the population with appropriate recommendations.

What is the present situation? The personnel of a body specially formed for this purpose, the All-Union Scientific Center for Radiation Medicine, and other medical establishments have examined nearly 450,000 persons. Statistics show that the amount of sickness in Kiev city, Kiev and Zhitomir Oblasts is not different from other oblasts. [passage omitted] No significant changes in the state of the population's health are to be expected either in the Soviet Union or in other countries.

The second kind of conclusion is connected with the safety of the Chernobyl AES itself, and it is unequivocal, too. In the opinion of scientists, the occurrence of a spontaneous chain reaction in the damaged reactor is out of the question. Therefore, rumors periodically emerge in Kiev and other places, too, about some "new accidents" that allegedly took place are absolutely groundless. [passage omitted]

[Question] The events in Chernobyl have split people in their opinions and moods, in their attitudes to the accident and its effects. Some tend to dramatize the situation, while the others regard it as virtually harmless. What makes itself felt in this case is, of course, ignorance in specific fields, inadequate information, is it not so?

[Kachura] Quite so. The population obviously lacks specialized knowledge about phenomena of this kind. As far as the acceptance of information is concerned, it should not be regarded as inadequate, but rather as one-sided. There is some kind of monopoly of opinions: some opinions are being accepted without reservations, while the others are rejected outright. [passage omitted]

[Question] Have some cases of unauthorized returning to the 30 km zone not been brought about by any other factors, for example by the lack of housing for the evacuees?

[Kachura] By no means. Providing the evacuees with housing was one of the most important problems and was settled ahead of any others. [passage omitted]

[Question] And finally, Boris Vasilyevich, a question that has become to some extent traditional. What is your opinion about prospects for developing the production of power, especially nuclear power?

[Kachura] It is impossible to answer this question clearly and in two words. As is known, there are more than enough extreme views on this matter, too. Some regard the construction of nuclear power stations as virtually the main way to the development of power production, while others with the same resoluteness deny these stations the right to exist.

In my opinion, both these attitudes, like any extreme, are incorrect. One cannot help adhering to the active civil position assumed by people who support a clean environment, one cannot help sharing their concerns. This is even more so because grave damages to nature are also being caused by thermal power stations that discharge large amounts of harmful waste into the atmosphere, and by hydroelectric stations accountable for the loss of thousands of hectares of fertile land, and so forth.

But the unavoidable fact is that stations of these three types supply virtually all the electric current, while the alternative sources of power, no matter how attractive they are, unfortunately, are unable to take the place of the traditional ones. Work in this direction should be speeded up. At the same time it is essential above all to make operating stations ecologically cleaner. It is equally important to reduce by all means the power intensity of production, and to apply resource saving and waste-free technologies.

As far as nuclear power production is concerned, highly important at the existing stations are: guaranteed safety, reliability, competent and blameless exploitation. Steps in this direction are being taken. In this regard, demands must be very high, literally up to world standards. It is sufficient to recall the opinion of IAEA specialists and experts from many countries who for 3 weeks examined the situation at the Rovno AES. They favorably assessed the conditions and reliability of the station's equipment, the level of its exploitation and of cadre preparation. This is the line that we will follow steadily.

The accident in Chernobyl brought to light a number of problems, and showed how important it was to be attentive, responsible, and responsive to wide public opinion while settling the entire complex of problems connected with the construction of new stations.

I would like to say that the decision has already been adopted to abstain from the construction of the Chernobyl AES No 2 with 6 power blocks, of blocks 5 and 6 at the operating Cherkassy AES, and of the the Kharkov and the Odessa nuclear heat and power plants [ATETs]. As far as the Crimean and the Chigirin AES's are concerned, the republic's government pleaded at all-union organs that it was inexpedient to continue their construction.

Of course, it is impossible to answer all questions in one single interview. There are many problems, and what matters most in their settling are concrete deeds. Evidence of this are the lessons learned and the conclusions drawn from the Chernobyl events.

Nuclear Waste Processing, Disposal Described

PM1002105589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Dialogue": "Between the Lines?"]

[Text] B. Semenov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy, had scarcely had time to answer under our "Dialogue" rubric the question of where radioactive waste is stored before the Voronezh newspaper KOMMUNA responded with a commentary by the director of the Novovoronezhskaya AES:

"...As regards a 'separate storage pit' at our station and, as some people thought, the storage here of waste from other nuclear installations, the public has been misled here. ...B. Semenov's comment in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA was not quite correct."

Well, we agree that people must not be misled. Over to B. Semenov:

"I wish to repeat yet again: Spent nuclear fuel is now stored in decay tanks prior to processing, including in a separate storage pit in the zone of the Novovoronezhskaya AES. Somehow Voronezh people have gotten the idea that fuel is also brought there from other stations. But I did not say that! Who, then, is misleading whom...?

"And again. I would like to take this opportunity to elaborate on the incorrect assertion, which really did appear in my reply, evidently during editing, that highly active waste is processed and stored at AES's. The text with which I provided the editorial office stated in this regard that 'spent AES fuel is sometimes called, not quite accurately, highly active waste. This term is to some extent justified in countries which do not plan to extract from it approximately 95 percent of the remaining uranium, the plutonium which has been formed, and a number of isotopes which can usefully be utilized in the national economy. We intend to develop such production facilities in our country. Therefore we designate as highly active waste what will remain after extracting the useful elements. We are developing various methods of processing it for subsequent burial. The most promising is to encase this waste in special hard glass that is resistant to external influences, blocks of which will then be buried in stable, impervious rock. This research is continuing in the USSR.'"

Burying Coped With 'Successfully'

LD1302100689 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 13 Feb 89

[Text] The problem of burying radioactive waste does exist in the Soviet Union but is being coped with successfully. That has been stated by (Vladimir Ashmolov), who heads the safety section of the Institute of Atomic Energy in Moscow. He said that by the beginning of the third millenium, there will be about 30,000 tonnes of used up radioactive fuel removed from reactors of the nuclear power stations, and that's about half of a five-story building in volume. The Soviet Union will, by that time, however, have reliable storages three times bigger.

Statistics Indicate Increasing Crime Rates

PM1002114589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by domestic news editor A. Illesh under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Glasnost on Crime"]

[Text] **IZVESTIYA's readers are accustomed to reading material based on data from the State Committee for Statistics under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary." Today's commentary covers a different topic. It is well-known that a decision was recently made to declassify statistics on crime and the struggle against crime. True enough, the editorial office has not yet received any data on this topic. Nevertheless, taking advantage of the fact that an enlarged collegium session was held at the USSR MVD a few days ago with Minister of Internal Affairs V.V. Bakatin delivering the report, we offer a few facts and figures.**

Crime in our country is, alas, rising. Unfortunately, it is difficult to study its dynamics (as ever because of the same old shortage of up-to-date figures and facts). This is why we will mainly compare last year with 1987. So, there was an increase of 14 percent in the number of murders, 32 percent in the number of grievous bodily harm cases, 43-44 percent in the number of muggings and robberies, and 29 percent in the number of thefts from apartments. The overall growth in crime was 9.5 percent.

I assume that these figures might generate not only alarm but even panic among mentally unprepared readers, and we will hear the customary question: "But what is the militia doing?" It appears that the militia is doing something about itself. It is doing it quite seriously at that, adhering to the principle that "Even the worst statistics should not be glossed over!", since any deviation from this principle damages primarily those whom the militia is called upon to protect—the people. Bitter confirmation of this can be seen in the many years of stagnation and even in contemporary life, with people either fooling us about successes by law enforcement organs or graciously leaving us in ignorance (we were not allowed to know who was robbing us or how often, to what extent we were being cheated, how much was being extorted from us, and—begging your pardon—how many of us were being murdered). Today the "curtain" is quietly being lifted.

But what can be said specifically about crime last year? Some 1,286,000 persons who had committed crimes were detected—12 percent less than the year before. But the rise in adolescent crime (11 percent) is especially worrying for the militia (and, I am sure, for us all). Here is an even more alarming figure: There were 88,000 crimes committed by groups of adolescents, and this is the most dangerous aspect. Crime committed while in a state of intoxication rose by 25 percent, while so-called recurrent criminality among minors rose by 19 percent. Here we are talking about people who are not yet full-fledged citizens but have already become real habitual criminals and have repeatedly committed theft, robbery, rape.... The crime rate stands at 107 crimes per 10,000 minors, 527,000 adolescents have militia records, and 100,000 have been given suspended sentences for crimes they have committed.

The rise in crime committed by the youngest and therefore (it is terrible to even say it) most promising offenders is noticeable in many places. Take Kazan for example. If we were to carefully study the statistics for this city, we could partially understand why adolescent crime flourished there. According to MVD data, for example, some 200 persons might take part in a gang fight but only 1 or 2 are taken to court. Some 7,400 complaints by victims who suffered bodily harm were simply not followed up in Kazan—the most dubious reasons were given for refusal to institute criminal proceedings. Here is a graphic example: Somebody lost an eye, and he was eventually informed that he had apparently run into a tree. On the one hand someone's crime was covered up, but—on the other hand—what opinion will this man and his relatives have about the efficiency of law enforcement organs? Every crime that is covered up results in a triple loss: It dampens the ardor of militia work, the population is perturbed, and a criminal goes unpunished.

This, by the way, is realized in the USSR MVD today. No matter how secret the crime increase figures were kept, people had a clear view of the real picture (maybe not the whole picture, but certainly that on their street, in their apartment block or settlement). This gave rise to mistrust, which was, unfortunately, often reinforced by the militia itself.

The MVD duty units have 15,000 officers. One out of every 10 crimes that are covered up lies on their conscience. I should imagine that many readers can recall the displeasure with which they were treated when reporting apartment thefts, hooliganism, a cap snatched in the street, or an assault by an "unknown person." The duty unit is the face that the militia presents to the public. Unfortunately, it is not always attractive. A car with a flashing light immediately rushing to respond to an emergency is a conventional image from thrillers rather than from real life. Alas, in two-thirds of the cases, these cars get on their way only 30-40 minutes after an incident has been reported.

What did 1988 bequeath to the militia? What does it still have to investigate, looking back into the past? There are 463,000 unsolved crimes at the level of criminal investigation or enquiries. They include 1,558 murders (and that is just from last year). As for the total "backlog"—I take the risk and mention this—it amounts to 2 million unsolved cases in the country!

We all—pedestrians and drivers alike—encounter the State Motor Vehicles Inspectorate service on a daily basis. The minister's appraisal of this service, made at the collegium session, was harsh: There were 47,000 persons killed on the roads last year, and another 297,000 were injured. Could it be, by the way, that there are more casualties on the roads in Europe where motor vehicle traffic is considerably heavier? No way! These figures are 6-7 times lower in the developed countries. Another stunning indicator: An official check revealed that one in every three inspectors does not know the road traffic regulations.

The damage caused by shortages and embezzlement in the country amounts to R613 million. Even though the figures provided by the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Service indicate a decline of crime along these lines (37 percent fewer bribery cases, 10 percent fewer embezzlement cases), this is more a case of passivity by the services than an improvement of the situation. Another fairly important detail: Specialists claim that the detection rate is only about 2 percent of bribery cases, 46 percent of embezzlements in the trade network, 25 percent of embezzlements in local industry, and 6 percent of embezzlements in the meat and dairy industry. The falling number of arrests and the decline of crime in many of its forms within the MVD system are attributed to "work in the new conditions"—strict observance of legality. But observance of legality is the natural and the only possible condition for normal work by the militia. In other words, it is not some sort of objective difficulty but a reality constantly encountered in a rule-of-law state.

The militia received 2 million complaints during the year. Incidentally, about one-half of them—reporting the covering up of crimes—were confirmed. The minister's report speaks about flaws in the activity of the central apparatus itself. There were 370,000 pieces of paper circulating within the USSR MVD system during the year. Some 42,000 of them moved from one floor to another within the ministry itself.

It is to be deeply regretted that not only bureaucracy but crime itself has affected the militia ranks. Over a 3-year period, 600 staffers were proved guilty of complicity with criminals. Embezzlement amounting to R5 million over the year—also within the MVD system. Moreover, R3.5 million of this sum was attributable to the Corrective Labor Institutions Main Administration, the main administration responsible for the rehabilitation of criminals.

Some 33,000 people who have already served their sentences are still without jobs. It was mainly they who produced the 10-percent rise in repeat crimes. There were 88 disturbances or, to put it more accurately, demonstrations, noisy rampages, and scandals involving 45,000 persons in [compulsory] occupational therapy centers in just 6 months. Last year there were also 66 attacks and takings of hostages in corrective labor institutions and preliminary detention centers. Instances were recorded when people serving sentences worked a 12-hour day and were paid for only 8 hours.

According to the latest militia data, the currently "fashionable" variety of crime—racketeering—goes further than just extortion of money from cooperative members and lease contractors, intimidation, arson, and destruction of equipment. The racketeers seek ways to get into cooperatives involved in foreign currency operations and to infiltrate joint ventures with foreign firms. There were 600 racketeering crimes detected last year. Curiously enough, however, there were only 139 complaints filed by victims. It is not just cooperative members and lease contractors who are afraid. Society cannot cope with racketeering, either.

The militia has, as the saying goes, a virgin field of activity. Will it cope with it swiftly? Let's wait and see. Optimism is inspired by the very fact of the honest and frank recognition of the situation as it actually is, the sober view taken of its own resources and potential. Yet the situation of the militia itself is not always as fine and dandy as the dress uniforms worn by its staffers. Just a few figures: There are 248,000 MVD staffers' families in need of better housing conditions. One in every five precinct inspectors in the country has simply nowhere to live. In the minister's opinion, a sum of R290 million is needed to bring staffers' salaries into line with life's demands. Where is this money to come from? From savings of the ministry's own resources, on the basis of quest for internal reserves?—this was discussed at the collegium session. Such reserves—as the forthcoming 15-percent cutback of the MVD apparatus proves—do exist.

There are also opportunities to improve the work of virtually all services. But this is the topic of another review.

Scientific

Booster Rocket Launches 6 'Cosmos' Satellites

LD1102091589 Moscow TASS in English 0906 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—Six satellites in the Cosmos series—Cosmos-1,994, Cosmos-1,995, Cosmos-1,996, Cosmos-1,997, Cosmos-1998, Cosmos-1,999 were launched by a Cyclone booster rocket in the Soviet Union on Friday [10 February].

The satellites carry scientific equipment for a continuation of space research. All the six satellites travel in orbits which are close to planned ones with the following initial parameters:

Orbital period—114.1 minutes,
The maximum distance from the earth's surface—1,442 kilometres,
The minimum distance from the earth's surface—1,403 km,
Orbital inclination—82.6 degrees.

The satellites also carry radio systems for precision measurement of orbit elements and radio telemetric systems to transmit back to earth the data on the operation of instruments and scientific equipment.

The onboard equipment is functioning normally.

'Cosmos-2000' Satellite Launched 10 Feb

LD1102093289 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—A Cosmos-2,000 satellite was launched by a Soyuz booster rocket in the Soviet Union on Friday [10 February]. The satellite carries scientific equipment for a continuation of the exploration of the earth's natural resources for the benefit of various branches of the national economy and international cooperation.

The flight programme also provides for space photography of the central part of Antarctica for the mapping of the continent's difficult of access areas.

The satellite was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

Initial orbital period—88.8 minutes,
The maximum distance from the earth's surface—275 km,
The minimum distance from the earth's surface—191 km,
And orbital inclination—82.3 degrees.

The satellite also carries a radio system for precision measurement of orbit elements and a radiotelemetric system to transmit back to earth the data on the operation of instruments and scientific equipment.

The onboard equipment is functioning normally.

The incoming information is being transmitted to the state research centre Priroda of the USSR Central Board of Geodesy and Mapping for processing and utilisation.

To Photograph Antarctica

LD1102094189 Moscow TASS in English 0925 GMT 11 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 11 TASS—The Soviet Cosmos-2000 satellite, launched Friday, will take pictures of the central region of Antarctica. The plane of the satellite's orbit, close to polar one (running across the earth's poles), has been chosen for this purpose.

"To put a spacecraft into such an orbit is a technically complex task. This is why not a single spacecraft yet photographed those areas," Yuriy Kiyenko, general director of the State Research and Production Centre Priroda told a TASS correspondent.

"The inclination of the satellite's orbit is 83 degrees. This means that it is somewhat shifted away from the earth's poles. However, methods which have been worked out for oblique photography will make it possible for the cameras of the filming equipment to cover the entire surface of the south polar continent".

Kiyenko said the photography of Antarctica, the area of which is 14 million square kilometres, from orbit will be approximately 98.8 per cent cheaper than air photography. Pictures to be taken by the Cosmos-2000 will make it possible to carry out a precise mapping of the central part of Antarctica for the first time.

Unique data on the ice cover, on the outcrops of rocks, the formation of glaciers and icebergs will be also gleaned. New data will be possibly obtained on the process of the formation of the ozone "hole" over the area.

Along with the survey of the ice continent, the satellite's flight programme comprises the study of natural resources, the ecological situation, seismically dangerous zones, and photography for the mapping of various regions of the Soviet Union.

The first satellite in the Cosmos series was launched in March 1962. Many spacecraft of the series were designed to study the natural resources of the earth. However, some of them accomplished other tasks. For example, medico- biological experiments were performed on board the Cosmos- 782, 936, 1129, 1887 and others.

The Cosmos-1500 carried out the radio scanning of terrestrial surface and the world ocean area and the resultant data were utilised for the piloting of ships in the Arctic Ocean and Arctic seas.

Cosmos satellites also tested in practice a space navigation system which ensures navigation in any spot of the world ocean. The Cosmos 1374, 1445, 1517 and 1614 manoeuvering satellites were the first Soviet aerospace vehicles which tested heat protective covering for the Buran reusable spaceship.

The Cosmos-1990 launched in January this year, along with other functions, is photographing seismotectonic structures of Armenia. This is necesary for planning new construction in the republic's northern areas which were ravaged by a heavy earthquake in December.

Soviet space pictures are notable for high quality, resolution which has not been surpassed anywhere in the world, geometric accuracy and spectral characteristics. Suffice it to say that terrestrial surface features the size of about five metres are discernible on the pictures whereas the resolving power of pictures taken by the systems of the American Landsat satellites, for example, is 30-40 metres. Pictures taken from Soviet satellites are now purchased by more than 40 firms form the United States, Japan, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada and other countries.

Military

General Moiseyev Cautions on Force Cuts

PM1002131589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Feb 89 First Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "From Defensive Doctrine Positions. Colonel General M.A. Moiseyev, Candidate USSR People's Deputy, Meets Communists From the USSR Armed Forces General Staff"]

[Text] **Colonel General M.A. Moiseyev, USSR first deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, has been registered as candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU. An election campaign meeting of Communists from the USSR Armed Forces General Staff was held 8 February; it was addressed by Col Gen M.A. Moiseyev.**

At present, the candidate USSR people's deputy said, the party and the country are living according to the ideas of restructuring. We are all witnesses of and direct participants in the process of our society's profound revolutionary renewal and an abrupt turnabout in the country's life. The political and moral atmosphere is changing before our very eyes. But restructuring is not finding it easy to advance; it is encountering resistance on the part of conservative forces. Not everyone agrees with the criticism of things that are alien to us. Not everyone correctly appraises the prospects of our development. There are even some who take advantage of the difficulties that have emerged and try to speculate on them. But the deeper the renewal processes reach, the more obvious it becomes that restructuring reflects the people's vital interests and that there is no alternative to it. This is what provides the basis of my election platform.

Col Gen M.A. Moiseyev went on to note that the general political plank of his program is fully and totally determined by the stipulations of the Central Committee's election campaign address to the party and the Soviet people, and by the fulfillment of the closely interlinked immediate and long-term sociopolitical and defense tasks outlined by the CPSU. I am aware, the speaker went on, of my personal responsibility for restructuring, primarily in the Armed Forces. The main point for Army and Navy Communists today concerns practical work to implement the party's defense policy. The Soviet Armed Forces possess great combat might. Our people can rest assured that they are capable of reliably ensuring their peaceful creative labor.

The transition to practical implementation of the radical political and economic reforms elaborated by the CPSU is certainly paving the way to the genuine flourishing of our motherland and is ensuring a real reorientation toward the individual and the swiftest solution of pressing socioeconomic tasks. We all are interested in ensuring that our economy works in the new fashion. Unfortunately, however, the economic situation in the country is being remedied only slowly. The party says this bluntly and honestly. These circumstances demand the most rational possible utilization of the country's resources and all its potential. This will naturally affect defense as well.

Hitherto we operated under the principle that savings can be effected everywhere except in defense. There is no doubt that these questions, especially in the nuclear missile age, are of vital importance for states. But they do not relieve us of responsibility for the thrifty expenditure of the funds appropriated for defense. Today's tasks of military building must be solved with greater consideration for all statewide problems, on the basis of profound and comprehensive economic analyses. Briefly speaking, it is necessary to be able to effect savings also in defense.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev recently announced that the USSR military budget will be cut by 14.2 percent within the next few years. Now this is justified both politically and strategically. At the same time, it makes it incumbent upon us, on the one hand, to learn to take better care of the money and to be more careful in spending the material resources appropriated for the training and development of the Armed Forces while, on the other hand, being more active in our quest for ways to maintain defense at the level of reasonable sufficiency within the framework of a reduced military budget.

The mobilization of all the people's creative energy for the fulfillment of the plans set by the party is a most important condition for the successful development and deepening of restructuring. Decisive importance in this regard is attached to glasnost, democratization, the consistent implementation of legal reform, and building a rule-of-law Soviet state. It is only along this path that we will succeed in completely overcoming the mistakes of the past and boosting people's social activeness.

With due consideration for the specific features of military service, the processes of democratization can and must help the further strengthening of the Armed Forces, the more efficient solution of training and education tasks, and the elimination of existing shortcomings and distortions in the Army environment. For this purpose it is necessary to overcome the deep-rooted practice of keeping silent about and avoiding any discussion on acute problems of military building. It is necessary to evaluate—from the new positions and more realistically—any provisions governing military life which have lost their significance and are no longer in line with the new conditions, and to complete and bring into operation as soon as possible new general military regulations. At the same time there must be no room for demagoguery, for the undermining of discipline—in other words, of everything that makes the Army strong.

This is why, Col Gen M.A. Moiseyev emphasized, I deem it my task to actively participate in the elaboration of measures which would further the democratization of Army life while without fail strengthening one-man command.

The party's foreign policy strategy is being renewed and restructured simultaneously with the restructuring of the country's domestic life. In their foreign policy the CPSU and the Soviet state consistently apply the principles of the new political thinking and innovative approaches to the solution of key international problems. Life has confirmed their correctness. The new military-political ideas put forward by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, especially in his speech at the 43d UN General Assembly session, have made a major contribution to shaping our country's image as an active force in the struggle for peace and social progress, for a policy of trust and international cooperation. This constructive, strictly considered, and farsighted policy is the only possible policy in our age.

More and more convincingly recent events vindicate our course of giving priority to political measures and means in the business of ensuring the country's security. In terms of the prevention of war, political measures are becoming decisive today. But we do realize that these measures must be combined with corresponding measures of a defensive nature, since this is the only condition making it possible to confidently pursue a peace-loving policy and block attempts by aggressive forces to build relations with us from a position of strength.

Of course, the determination of the correct correlation of political and defensive measures is a complex task. In its practical work the party Central Committee sets an example of its creative solution. And the General Staff is actively involved in this work.

Our role is to help—in line with the party's general foreign policy course—the more profound analysis of military-political questions and the preparation of comprehensively considered proposals. They must reflect the new approaches to strengthening the country's security and must help reduce the level of military confrontation between the sides—but, at the same time, they must ensure the preservation of a stable equilibrium, the reliable defense of the country and our allies, and the maintenance of the Armed Forces' combat readiness and combat effectiveness at the proper level.

This is also important, the speaker said, because the press has recently carried numerous noncompetent articles which essentially raise doubts about the existence of a real military threat and hence about the legitimacy of the defensive measures being taken. At times it is bluntly said that an "alleged military threat" is invented by the military themselves in order to justify their existence.

This is a fundamental political question, and we cannot simply evade it. It is necessary to give well-argued answers, to shape public opinion accordingly, to explain the real state of affairs, and to educate young people and Army and Navy personnel in the spirit of a correct understanding of the military-political situation in the world.

Of course, there have been changes. But we also perceive something else. Imperialism's policy retains its aggressive orientation. Just as before, the United States attempts to display its military might. It has not abandoned and does not intend to abandon a single one of its military-technical programs. I refer to the expedited introduction of the latest technologies for the swiftest equipping of its forces with such weapons systems as would require the Soviet Union to expend a great deal more time and resources on countering them. This is why we will continue to maintain the country's defense capability at the level of sensible and reliable sufficiency, so as to ensure that nobody is tempted to encroach upon the security of the USSR and its allies.

Col Gen M.A. Moiseyev then dwelt on the programmatic aspects of his practical work as chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff.

The General Staff's work, he noted, is being pursued in a complex situation, when many stereotypes are being demolished, when views that seemed incontrovertible are changing, when virtually all stipulations of our military theory and practice are being reviewed. At the same time, new tasks are emerging as a result of restructuring and the implementation in military affairs of the principles of the new political thinking, the demands of Soviet military doctrine and its defensive orientation, and the 19th All-Union Party Conference stipulations about the transition of Soviet military building to qualitative parameters.

We have now essentially embarked upon a new stage in the building of the Armed Forces. The previous stage, which we linked with the revolution in military affairs and the massive introduction of nuclear missile weapons, must be considered completed. Since 1985-1986 we have embarked on a new stage linked with a defensive military doctrine and a phased arms reduction. These conditions require new approaches to the solution of defense tasks. New methods are also required in the General Staff's work.

A precise concept of restructuring has now been formulated in the Soviet Armed Forces. Its main avenue has been defined—practical implementation of the requirements of a defensive military doctrine. But formulating tasks is one thing—implementing them is something else. The latter is much more complex. The General Staff has a decisive role to play in this work. By virtue of its position it must act as the main generator and organizer of restructuring in the Armed Forces.

Much has certainly been done already in the last 18-24 months. But we are only just beginning to tackle a series of questions. And some problems have not yet been properly approached. The process of restructuring in formations and units is encountering complications. Moreover, the shortcomings in our work are also graphically displayed here.

The next 2 years will be especially crucial and tense for the Armed Forces and the General Staff. This will be a period of important military-political and strategic decisions, the fundamental reorganization of the Army and Navy, and the restructuring of their training in line with the doctrine's new demands. We must implement major organizational and technical measures linked to the reduction in the Armed Forces, the improvement of control and combat training, and also all forms of support [obespecheniye] and political work.

The speaker singled out several priority avenues which are acquiring decisive importance in the training of the Armed Forces and the activity of the General Staff. One is the fulfillment of the tasks set by the party for the Army and Navy's qualitative development. Probably never before have we encountered problems as complex as our present ones.

The implementation of the announced unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces by 500,000 men will begin this year. Much organizational work will have to be done. We must unremittingly monitor the entire reduction process, the redeployment of the troops [peredislokatsiya voysk], the placing of formations and units in new regions, and the redistribution of resources. It is also necessary to clarify numerous questions concerning cadre utilization. At the same time we must consider how to maintain an undiminished level of combat readiness in conditions of the reduction. We must constantly keep in our field of vision retaliatory measures to counter the ongoing U.S. and NATO military preparations—basing ourselves primarily on the qualitative aspect.

It is understandable that this work must be done with special circumspection, without going to extremes, without succumbing to pressure by departmental forces and incompetent individuals. The General Staff is now receiving dozens of proposals on how the Armed Forces should be built. There are some competent views, but there are also many which are detached from life. There seem to be widespread opinions that we should unilaterally reduce the army by 50 percent. To switch to a territorial-militia manning system. To create a professional, essentially volunteer [nayemnyy] Army. These views ignore the fact that a militia system is absolutely unrealistic given today's most complex means of struggle, while switching to a professional volunteer Army involves a sharp increase—by a factor of at least 5-8—in maintenance costs. Such proposals are naturally unacceptable, and our attitude toward them must be unambiguous.

At the same time it is necessary to look very carefully at proposals from the troops, and also from Armed Forces veterans and other Soviet citizens, that contain sensible views. They must be carefully analyzed, and everything useful must be utilized.

An important area of our activity is that of further improving the combat and mobilization readiness of troops and naval forces. This is the most crucial, continuing task for all military cadres and staffs. But it has a special meaning for the General Staff. In connection with the dynamic development of the military-political situation, the appearance of still more dangerous means of attack, and NATO's intensive development of covert forms of unleashing aggression, many complex questions arise that must be taken into account.

We must assess from new standpoints the entire system of our Armed Forces' combat readiness and draw up additional measures that can and should be adopted to improve it in the nineties. We must waste no time in eliminating the weak points in the combat readiness of individual formations.

The General Staff also has a crucial role in the further development of the system of command and control of the Armed Forces. The significance of command and control is increasing all the time; it is becoming more complex in nature, but the successful fulfillment of tasks depends increasingly on its quality. And the higher the level, the more this law applies. Therefore the entire command and control system should be switched decisively to a new, automated technical base; thought should be given to the practical implementation of decisions adopted for restructuring command and control in light of defense needs, and so forth.

Military science and the operational and combat training of troops and naval forces should also be a priority avenue of our work. The development of the military art is now proceeding at a particularly rapid pace. Nearly all the tenets of strategy, operational art, and tactics are undergoing radical changes, under the influence of not only military-technical, but also military-political factors. Basically a new theory of military art is being created.

In these conditions the role of military science increases dramatically. No question of military building can now be resolved without a detailed scientific study. Science should help us to resolve tasks not only without serious miscalculations, but also in the optimum form, especially when it is a question of the long-term future. In military theory it is impermissible to go along with the subjective decisions of individuals. It is necessary to act on the basis of objective consideration of the existing logical principles and real material factors. In the near future a whole range of major scientific research studies are to be carried out, into radical problems of military matters, among other things. At the same time scientific conclusions must be put into practice more quickly.

The question of radically improving the organization and quality of combat training is also acute. In the past we sought to resolve this task by extensive means, by increasing the number of measures. But that did not turn into quality; sometimes, on the contrary, it had the opposite effect. It is now necessary to drastically change the attitude of all leadership personnel toward combat training, bring it out of its stagnation, put it on a new footing, and resolutely eradicate ostentation, show, and all elements of leniency and oversimplification. As of this year the timing and allocation of training time to the various disciplines has become more precise and the number of major exercises has been reduced in order to devote more time to qualitative training of subunits. The troops are going over to training based on new programs and courses. This means that all the necessary organizational prerequisites are being created for improving the quality of combat training. But the mobilization of all personnel, first and foremost officers, to fulfill this task will have a decisive role. It is important to ensure that combat training in the troops and naval forces takes a new course, that maximum coverage of personnel is ensured, and that all preconditions that tend to disrupt studies are completely ruled out.

The General Staff, for its part, should now direct the restructuring of combat training to a greater extent than in the past. It is our duty to ensure that the overall thrust of training is in accordance with the fundamental requirements of the defensive strategy and operational art, to ensure that combat training norms are specified in good time, to take a broad view in analyzing the entire course of the training process, and to formulate recommendations on major issues of principle in the training of troops and naval forces.

Another avenue is the further improvement of the work of the General Staff in fulfilling party and government targets for safeguarding the foreign policy activity of the CPSU and the Soviet state and talks on military matters and for developing Soviet military cooperation. It is well known how intensive and complex this sphere of work is, how far-reaching and diverse.

Evidently in the future this trend will not only continue, it will become still more clear-cut, in view of the constant stepping up of the Soviet state's foreign policy activity.

Many talks on military-political issues and arms limitation problems are now entering a new phase. The possibility of new talks on other security problems is not ruled out. It is important that we do not lose the initiative, that we are more principled in studying all the issues, and that we defend our positions more convincingly, while at the same time showing flexibility and seeking compromise solutions. The various possible solutions should be evaluated more farsightedly, taking into account the consequences of the proposed measures and possible accords.

Particular mention should be made of Afghanistan. The withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops from that country is nearing completion. The last Soviet soldier will soon leave that land. But the situation in Afghanistan remains complex. We call on the other countries that are guarantors of the Geneva agreements strictly to fulfill international accords and to ensure the full implementation of the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

Finally, another avenue of the qualitative improvement of the Armed Forces is the further strengthening of military discipline. This task, as you know, is now very urgent. The combat capability and combat readiness of the Army and Navy depends largely on its fulfillment. The experience of the last 3 years, especially 1988, has shown that we have every opportunity to resolutely strengthen military discipline. But these opportunities must be utilized skillfully.

Col Gen M.A. Moiseyev went on to dwell on the General Staff's style and methods of work.

The main point that we should pay attention to, he said, is the development of autonomy and the principles of creativity and initiative in the activity of all structural subunits and every individual worker, the resolute eradication of bureaucracy, and the switching of efforts to ensuring that the decisions adopted are fulfilled and to constructively monitoring this process.

It is necessary to resolutely combat formalism, which unfortunately is still far from being eradicated in the activity of many directorates. The main manifestation of formalism and bureaucracy is excessive organization and the failure to always study matters in depth. There are also instances of voluntarism. Formalism is also manifested in excessive centralization and the attempt to assume the functions of subordinate bodies.

There is still much that we have not done to reduce the volume of correspondence, and we ourselves not infrequently churn out unnecessary paperwork. The practice of asking the troops for large numbers of reports, checklists, and information of various kinds, the need for which is dubious, remains widespread.

It appears that we should also revise our attitude toward work on long-term problems. Current work is undoubtedly important, but all the same our main efforts should be aimed primarily at resolving long-term tasks. It has traditionally been the case that the General Staff is engaged mainly in the drafting of decisions, in calculations and planning. But responsibility for the end results has been understated. The situation is different now. The times require from us the ability to tackle tasks as they arise with great foresight, not only from today's standpoint, but in the light of long-term prospects. Many difficult problems that the troops are encountering today can be traced back, with careful analysis, to our lack of foresight, our shortsightedness. And we must all learn the appropriate lessons from that.

The new nature of the tasks now being resolved requires the development of creative activeness on the part of all directorates and every official; it requires initiative and inquisitiveness in work. The General Staff has always been a creative body. But creativity is now acquiring special significance. An atmosphere should be created in all our subunits that will ensure the profound, creative study of problems, the quest for the best solutions, free discussion, and the clash of opinions. Officers should not be afraid to express their views frankly. And that is only possible if senior chiefs are respectful toward their subordinates' proposals.

The new tasks require a clarification of the structure of the General Staff and a partial reorganization. We have acquired many unnecessary bodies. Clearly we must eliminate duplication in the fulfillment of tasks, abolish superfluous components, and increase the role of leading directorates and areas of work and strengthen them. Work to this end is in progress. But before taking the final decisions we will weigh everything carefully and discuss it in the collectives.

Col Gen M.A. Moiseyev said in conclusion: My candidacy for election as a USSR people's deputy was put forward by the CPSU. That is a tremendous honor for me. My entire life is associated with the party. I have been in its ranks for more than 26 years.

The great services of Lenin's CPSU to the people are common knowledge. Its history is the history of a heroic struggle. But the party had to suffer much and experience the tragic, dramatic years of the personality cult and stagnation.

Today the party is going through a period of rebirth. It has created the theory of restructuring, and is restructuring itself. The 19th All-Union Party Conference and the CPSU Central Committee election platform gave us clear, concrete guidelines. I wish to assure you that I will work tirelessly to put into practice the policy of restructuring.

Lieutenant General of Aviation M.M. Kuznetsov, Major General Yu.Ye. Remarchuk, Lieutenant Colonel V.Ya. Meleshin, Soviet Army employee V.S. Filimonov, and other comrades took part in the discussion of the election program of the chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. The participants in the meeting adopted a resolution in support of the nomination of Col Gen M.A. Moiseyev as candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

Speaks on Military Tasks, Volunteer Army

LD1202210689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Meetings between candidate USSR People's Deputies and the electorate continue.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Col Gen Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and first deputy USSR Minister of defense, a CPSU candiate deputy, met the Communists from the General Staff in Moscow.

Mikhail Alekseyevich is only 50 years old. He was recently appointed to this post. As a professional soldier, he has an earnest attitude toward the prestige of the Army.

[Video shows men in uniforms sitting in hall and moves on to show Colonel General Moiseyev at the rostrum]

[Moiseyev] The prestige of our military service, including the prestige of the General Staff, depends mainly upon us, upon our work and our attitude toward military service in whatever post we hold, whether it is as platoon or company commander or chief of the General Staff. If a man has created around himself a good, capable collective ready to take any task through to completion—that is prestige for you. And for the soldier who stands alongside him and who tomorrow might enter our military academy, where, as we see it, good officer cadres should certainly be selected who will instill in him the foundation of our military knowledge and the foundation of working with people—that is the paramount task today. Then the prestige of our Armed Forces will not decline, neither among the people nor in the Army.

[Reporter] Quite recently we thought that we could economize on everything but defense. Indeed, the issue of defense, particularly in the nuclear missile age, the candidate deputy stressed, is vitally important for the state. But that does not exempt us from spending the funds allocated for defense in an economical way. Today we must be able to make savings on defense, too, the chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces thinks.

[Video shows Moiseyev, now seated in front of the stage, next to an unidentified military man]

[Reporter] Mikhail Alekseyevich, what do you think about the idea of creating a professional, volunteer enlistment army?

[Moiseyev] The idea is being put forward not only of a professional army, but of creating an army along the militia principle [po militseyskomu printsipu]. Of course, this is not presently acceptable to us, nor for the immediate future, since it would need a five- to eightfold increase in the financial budget to create a professional army.

[Reporter] Will students in higher education establishments be given deferments from Army service for the period of their studies? Is this kind of idea being worked on?

[Moiseyev] This matter has been worked on in the General Staff. We have submitted our ideas to the relevant authority. Our conclusions are that higher education establishment students will for the period of their studies be exempted from call-up for active military service. [end recording]

Belousov Queried on Defense Industry Conversion

PM1102131389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by TASS political observer Yu. Kornilov under the rubric "Our Dialogue": "Goods for the People Off the Military Prodution Line. I.S. Belousov, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Describes Plans for the Conversion of Soviet Military Production"—no place or date of interview given; first two paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] Conversion. This term, meaning the gradual transfer of some defense industry capacities to civilian purposes, is becoming an increasingly organic part of our economic and political vocabulary. Speaking at the United Nations in December 1988, M.S. Gorbachev urged the peoples and states belonging to the world community to engage in a decisive demilitarization of international relations, emphasizing in particular the importance and topicality of the problems of making the transition from an economy of armaments to an economy of disarmament. Backing its words by deeds, our country announced that the USSR military budget will be cut by 14.2 percent, and production of arms and military equipment by 19.5 percent.

The aforementioned figures also determine the scale of the conversion of Soviet military production, for which a plan is currently being elaborated within the framework of the economic reform now under way in the country. What are the basic avenues and parameters of this plan? That was the question that began our conversation with I.S. Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Belousov] We are talking about a state plan whose purpose is to define the scale of the reduction of military supplies and specific targets for boosting production of civilian output. The main component of the plan is a package of measures envisaging the conversion of military production capacities and guaranteeing the manufacture of new products for the national economy.

It is, of course, necessary to accurately define the specific national economic tasks whose solution is to be promoted by this conversion. Work is already being done on this project. It is already possible to say: The conversion of part of our defense industry is primarily oriented toward making it possible to significantly increase the production of modern technological equipment for the light, food, and processing industries. Conversion is also one of the ways to boost the production of medical equipment which is in such acutely short supply in the country. It will also, of course, help to fully supply our trade network with consumer goods, computers, electronics....

[Kornilov] But is all this still nothing more than plans for the future?

[Belousov] No, not at all. All our defense industry plants specializing in machine building and instrument building have always (except during the war) produced civilian output in parallel with their military output—it was all a matter of the scale and volume of this side of their work. For example, now—with the success in significantly improving the international climate, with the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles having already come into force, and with the solution of the question of a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms and other urgent disarmament problems on the agenda—345 defense industry enterprises are already involved in the production of equipment for the light and food industries, and this year they will account for more than one-fifth of such output manufactured in our country. This is happening today. By 1995 our defense industry should have increased its volume of production of equipment for the light industry by 130 percent—in other words the equipment of this type which it will be manufacturing should be (in comparable prices) almost 50 percent more than the total manufactured in our country in the last 20 years. It is also planned to develop and "bring on line" more than 1,400 new equipment categories over the same period, and to renew virtually the entire range of machine tools and machines now being produced and which the light industry needs so badly.

In my view, the program for boosting the output and raising the technical standard of equipment for processing sectors in the agro-industrial complex is equally important. This program envisages the development and assimilation of series production of over 4,000 categories of new equipment by 1995, including 3,000 (worth a total of R7 billion) at defense industry enterprises. The production of equipment and spare parts will increase 80 percent by 1990 and 250 percent by 1995; defense industry enterprises will take on almost half the total volume of deliveries to the sectors in question. In order to implement this program, over 200 leading scientific research institutes and design bureaus in the defense sectors are now involved in its fulfillment in addition to the military plants.

The interesting and, in my view, promising projects which are already being developed include the development, using the help and resources of defense industry enterprises, of a broad range of equipment for small-capacity processing enterprises—bread bakeries, mobile slaughterhouses, cheesemaking plants, vegetable processing shops, and so on—which could be erected without any special difficulties actually on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in other words where output producers live and work and where the raw material sources are located.

[Kornilov] And what can be said about defense industry enterprises' direct participation in consumer goods production?

[Belousov] A number of military plants already joined in the manufacture of mass consumer goods back in the late sixties but, as I already mentioned, it was only in the last few years that real political conditions were created for accelerating and galvanizing the process of involving defense industry enterprises in the production of output for the people. At present, plants in defense industry sectors manufacture about 2,000 categories of goods for cultural, consumer service, and domestic purposes. In 1988 alone these plants manufactured almost 10 million television sets, 95 percent of all Soviet-made refrigerators, 62 percent of washing machines, 69 percent of vacuum cleaners, and so on.

Glancing through the already elaborated program for the production and development of new consumer goods by the defense industry in 1989-1995, it can be seen that this program envisages the assimilation and production of more than 140 types of complex domestic equipment. This list includes television sets with stereophonic sound; the latest models of general purpose cookers, refrigerators, and freezers; vacuum cleaners with electronically controlled suction power; various models of electric meat grinders; clothes driers; clothes ironing machines; dishwashers; and much, much else. The list also includes a whole series of articles never before manufactured in our country: compact disc players, video disc players [videoproigryvatel], camcorders, pocket watches with voice synthesizers, personal computers, and so on. It is impossible to list everything. Let me add only that, compared with 1988, the volume of consumer goods manufactured by defense industry enterprises by the end of the 5-year plan period will have increased by more than R4 billion and that the manufacture of these goods this year will be R1.5 billion more than envisaged by the 5-year plan.

It is nevertheless necessary to note that the technical standard and the volume of goods manufactured for the people, including those manufactured by defense industry sectors, still fail to meet today's demands. Therefore, much work still has to be done here.

[Kornilov] Of course, the population can only gain from such conversion—but what about the defense industry enterprises themselves? What is it more profitable for them to produce—tanks or television sets?

[Belousov] Bearing in mind the generally high quality of output coming off the prodction line in defense industry enterprises and the tremendous demand for output for the national economy, I think that labor collectives need not incur any material loss as a result of the conversion of enterprises, sections, and shops. The government has already elaborated measures designed to intensify the interest of enterprises in the heavy industry, defense industry, and other sectors in increasing the output and improving the quality of goods for the people. For this purpose, for example, they have been authorized to retain in 1989-1990 all the profit gained from the sale of products manufactured over and above last year's level.

Conversion—using the term in the widest meaning of the word—assumes not only the reduction and conversion of military production but also the utilization of decommissioned [snimayemaya s vooruzhenii] military equipment in the national economy. Let me remind readers in this context that only 5,000 of the 10,000 tanks being cut back in Europe by the USSR will be physically eliminated [likvidirovany] while the rest will be remodeled [peredelany] into tractors [tyagach] for civilian use or into simulators [trenazher]. A number of specialists are inclined toward the idea that these tanks can be successfully used as firefighting machines when dealing with fires in especially complex conditions or as bulldozers when building roads in inaccessible localities. I think that this is a far from complete list of the strictly peaceful uses to which modern tanks can be "adapted...."

[Kornilov] But what about the problem's social aspects, like employment for example—will conversion not raise the question of finding jobs for a sizable contingent of specialists and workers?

[Belousov] Finding jobs, and for a "sizable contingent" at that? No, this problem—at least at present—does not arise. I believe that we might and should be talking about finding jobs for a relatively small group of "narrow" specialists, but this question is perfectly easy to solve in the conditions of our planned economy. As for the bulk of workers, it is necessary to bear in mind that, as I have already said, when we draw up conversion plans we set the task of not closing down but converting defense industry plants—a conversion, moreover, which would envisage the utilization of not only new equipment but primarily of existing equipment. Of course, military plants have equipment and apply technological processes which are suitable only for military production—for example, the fitting of heat-resistant covers to the missile bodies or production lines for the manufacture of ammunition. But these are more the exception than the rule. In most cases the same machines and the same machine tool pool make it possible to manufacture both weapons and strictly civilian output. Consequently, when we talk about conversion we are talking not about releasing specialists and workers but primarily about their assimilating new labor methods and usages, about retraining them.

Of course, all that I have said does not mean that the conversion process does not create serious problems for military enterprises and the relevant ministries and departments. Such problems do exist; there are quite a few of them, such as the radical (and rapid!) redesigning of production areas, the radical alteration of technological processes and technological equipment, and so on. It is necessary to again thoroughly consider and weigh a series of questions concerning the economics of converted enterprises. Perhaps the most convincing answer to questions that arise will be provided by experience and practice. By way of an experiment, conversion plans for two to three defense industry enterprises will be prepared this year. The plants in question will, I think, become the models, the "test sites" where conversion methods will be "broken in."

[Kornilov] There are press reports that the U.S. Congress intends to discuss the question of a national plan for the conversion of military production. In this context, a number of U.S. scientists advocate Soviet-U.S. cooperation and exchange of experience in this sphere. What is your opinion of these proposals?

[Belousov] It is no secret that any plans to reduce armaments in the United States encounter serious opposition from the powerful military-industrial complex, which is not at all eager to lose the billions it makes in profit. But despite substantial and fundamental differences in approach to the problem, we are of course ready to exchange ideas and experience with the United States. And not just with the United States. Our country advocates that all states, and primarily the major military powers, submit their national plans in this regard to the United Nations. It advocates the setting up of a group of scientists which would take on the in-depth analysis of conversion problems as a whole and as they apply to individual countries and regions. Conversion offers a path to real disarmament, and this is a matter for all states and all peoples...

[Kornilov] And one last question, Igor Sergeyevich, a question which readers at times ask in their letters. Yes, they write, the conversion of military industry is designed to have a most positive effect on the state of affairs in our national economy, on the supply of goods and products to our stores. But are we not getting carried away by this process? Will it not affect the ensuring of our country's security?

[Belousov] It is best to turn to M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the United Nations. The part of the speech where he talked about the new Soviet initiatives relating to the reduction of our Armed Forces and about conversion contains the following lines: "We will maintain the country's defense capability at the level of sensible and reliable sufficiency so that nobody might be tempted to encroach on the security of the USSR and its allies." It is difficult to find anything to add to this perfectly clear and precise formulation.

Lizichev on Military Structure

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[Interview with Army General Aleksey Dmitriyevich Lizichev, USSR people's deputy candidate, CPSU Central Committee member, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the USSR Army and Navy by All-Union Radio special correspondent Kim Kukholev; from the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program; date not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Dear comrades: Recently a meeting took place between voters and Aleksey Dmitriyevich Lizichev, USSR people's deputy candidate, member of the CPSU Central Committee, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the USSR Army and Navy and Army general. It took place in one of the Moscow Military District units. Afterwards, Aleksey Dmitriyevich Lizichev gave an interview to All-Union Radio, in which he spoke about the different sides of the life of the Army, touched on questions of defense and problems of disarmament. Our special correspondent, Kim Kukholev, conducted this interview:

[Kukholev] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, naturally I have many questions. With your permission, I will start with the one that the transformations in our Armed Forces—which have already begun—has raised. I am speaking about their unilateral reduction. By reducing the quantity of troops and armaments are we not weakening our defense?

[Lizichev] Of course, this is a major military and political event in the life of our country, if not of the whole world. It has been adopted—as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also announced—with the aim of, once again, giving an example of how we are struggling for peace, for international security.

The reduction will take place over 2 years. This is a process. It is not something that happens all at once (eto ne razovyy akt]. Naturally, during these 2 years, our industry apparently, our scientists, our designers, our working class will create the equipment which will fill in for [vospolnyat] that quantity which we are reducing—that is, qualitative parameters will really come into operation. [kachestvennyye parametry deystvitelno vstupyat v stroy]. This is the first thing.

Second, in these 2 years we intend to raise the qualitative parameters of our people, above all from the point of view of their combat training, of their moral outlook, their attitude to the job in hand, the training, methodology, and so on. That is, we want to replace quantity with quality, if the opposing side does not set out to meet us. We have set a good example. And we are waiting. After all not only have we reduced our Armed Forces by 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 weapons systems, 800 aircraft and so forth. In addition our friends, our allies in the Warsaw Pact—the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Poland—have all, in essence, begun to reduce their armed forces, over a definite period. Naturally, in these circumstances, we expect a reaction in response from our partners in the talks.

At the present time we have openly, directly stated how many we have, and have said that we are in a state of approximate parity. Their Navy is bigger and they have 1,400 more strike aircraft. That is correct, but in principle we are at parity—equal conditions. We have set an example. What will they reply with?

[Kukholev] Does the very concept we have of a defensive doctrine not mean that we are in the position of being hostages of sorts—that is, of waiting for a first strike?

[Lizichev] Of course not, No. First I have said that thanks to the efforts of the people, of our industry, and thanks to the care of the party and government, we have reached parity with our adversary. This is the first aspect. Defensive doctrine—what are the nuances here? It is a principle of reasonable sufficiency, of defense sufficiency. What does it consist of? It consists of our infantry troops, Air Defense, Navy and Air Force—that is, conventional forces or general purpose forces—being maintained at the minimum level which will enable us to preserve political stability and make our country safe from the strike of an aggressor. Insofar as the strategic nuclear forces—the whole triad—is concerned, we have been maintaining them and will maintain them at a level equal for us and the United States. And until we agree to eliminate nuclear weapons entirely—and we advocate this—we will maintain that parity in nuclear missile forces and that equilibrium.

[Kukholev] So one can even talk about a preemptive strike?

[Lizichev] There can be no preemptive strike from our side. First, we have declared that we will not unleash war if we ourselves are not subjected to attack. We have declared that we do not need other people's territory. We have declared that we will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. But the fact that we are maintaining nuclear missile forces in parity—and incidentally our partners in the talks have not taken any obligations upon themselves—means that we will also cause them irreparable damage in a return of retaliatory strike, if they try to use them. I can tell you one thing, in a figurative sense: If Hitler had known, even on 21 June 1941, that he would have to take poison and poison Eva and his dog on 30 April [1945]—that they would be rolled up in a carpet, petrol poured on them and burned—he would probably not have attacked on 22 June. And our adversary knows, and ought to know, that we have sufficient strength to guarantee the security of our country and our allies.

[Kukholev] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, the press is beginning to discuss what is to be done with those who will be affected by, or who have already been affected by, the reductions. I mean the servicemen. Everything is clear about the equipment: It is being converted for the needs of civilian production, and is being melted down. But what is one to do with the people, with the professional servicemen who have given up their whole conscious life to the military art and are now compelled to leave the Army? Many are compelled to do so. Here, I think, one has to talk not only, and not so much about, retraining them in vocation, but about social adaptation for them.

[Lizichev] Yes, of course, the reduction of the Armed Forces is not only the reduction of armaments and combat equipment. It is also the reduction of the officer staff. It is also the reduction of warrant officers, midshipmen, soldiers and sergeants. Naturally this is not a simple action. It is an action during which, on the one hand, we have to maintain our vigilance; as we have already said, our combat readiness; so that no one dares to encroach on our security, and on the other hand we must show concern for these people. Thousands will be discharged. We intend to maintain social justice under all circumstances in effecting the discharges. In the first instance, we will discharge those who have already served the periods of time laid down by the law—officers and warrant officers and midshipmen.

[Kukholev] Let's suppose that I have served my time, but I'm still strong.

[Lizichev] What does that matter? You are healthy. That's good. Off you go to be useful in civilian life. Under conditions of restructuring there will always be work for you, if you are healthy. That is very good, but you have served your time. At the present time, the man who has served his time, leaves; to some degree his livelihood is secured, that's true after all. We need to keep a young Army, not an Army that has grown old.

[Kukholev] Fighting efficient.

[Lizichev] Fighting efficient, young, energetic. This is natural. The Army was always young. This is the first thing. Second, I'll say that of course concern is being shown—and in this connection there is a directive by the party Central Committee that concern should be shown concerning those who are being discharged, from the point of view of providing the necessary housing conditions, from the point of view of settling them in work, and from the point of view of an attentive relationship with these people. We are counting on this. But—I will state frankly—the man who wants to be discharged now, the man who does not know how to work or who does not want to work, to live according to regulations, work according to regulations, to know how to train and educate his subordinates—probably it will be necessary to part with these people too. But under all circumstances, this is not a action which will take place all at once. It is a process. To those who have even served the prescribed period of time, but have 3 or 4 years left till they can draw their pension, we will give them the possibility of serving until 1991. There is also this detail; if we have extended the period of service before the present time—for someone who had served his time, we extended the period of service—we will be obliged to hold to that period—the extension of the period of service. That is natural. We ourselves will take trouble and make sure that the local organs concern themselves with these people. But we, too, the Army, our military commissariats, we must all show a great deal of concern for those who will be discharged.

[Kukholev] It seems to me that above all people, those who went down the roads of war in Afghanistan, who have already taken off their military uniform or who are taking it off now, are in need of this concern.

[Lizichev] Undoubtedly. The military biography of these people must not be clouded by anything. Now many things, many different things are being said. I can say one thing. A servicemen carries out an order, and for the servicemen it is a sacred obligation to carry out the order of his motherland, the order of his government. This is what we military people are here for: to carry out a combat task at any moment whenever the people order us, whenever the party Central Committee and government order us. And we must carry it out without, as they say, considering anything. This is what the people maintain us for. Our task is to carry out our motherland's orders without fail. If we contemplate whether we should or should not carry out an order, what sort of an Army is it? It would not be an Army. Our Army is an army that serves the people and the interests of the people, an army that was and is carrying out the orders that have been given to it. It has always been with its people. It has always been with our party. It has been sharing all the joy and griefs with its people, and this is how we are educating our army: To be with its people always; to be always with restructuring, as it is now. It is fully supporting it. It is restructuring itself and learns restructuring from our people.

[Kukholev] And the servicemen-internationalists are now the ones that have carried out an order and now need precisely [word indistinct].

[Lizichev] Undoubtedly. Undoubtedly. And the more attention they get the better, and not coo-cooing, but masculine normal attention, which has been determined. It is necessary that at least something that has been defined, something that has been prescribed is implemented in relation to them, such as providing them with all the necessities envisaged by our government. Unfortunately, I would say that in a number of places even what is compulsory is not being carried out. This is bad.

[Kukholev] Vasiliy Dmitriyevich! You have started restructuring. The restructuring processes that are now unfolding in the Armed Forces, have, as far as I know, among their main guidelines, democratization and glasnost. How do you link this with the principle of one-man command in military units and detachments and aboard ships; the principle of one-man command and democratization?

[Lizichev] Many people think that democratization in the Army contradicts the idea of one-man command. This is a wrong view. Democratization helps strengthen the one-man command. It raises the authority of the one man-commander, when the one-man commander, using the interests of people, the masses of people—whether in a detachment, or aboard a ship or in a military establishment—when using people's interests and leanings can inspire them to tackle the quality of training, to master technology and armaments, to raise the political and moral spirit of the people, and so on. For this, it is necessary to have the skill to use the whole range of those new methods which have opened up in connection with democratizations and glasnost in our country. In principle, one-man command was and remains one of the leading principles in building our armed forces.

Fulfillment of the commander's order remains an unshakable rule. And here party and the Komosomol organizations, and all public organizations, should, in their work, act according to such an understanding. However, there is also democratization. For instance, who is the commander? He is a Communist, isn't he? He is of the same rank-and-file in his party organization as an ordinary soldier or sailor. There, too, the principle of democratic centralism, in the Leninist sense, is: Make a proposal, and discuss any matter until a decision is made and propose anything. It should act, and it does act in party organizations, in our Komsomol, and in our trade unions. That is the most important direction in the development of democratization. That is the first thing.

I will tell you a second thing. Reports back and elections have happened in the Armed Forces. Conferences have taken place. The political organs reported back on their work at the party conferences. That made many political organs get their act together. It increased their sense of responsibility. On the other hand, it opened the eyes of many to what the political organs are doing, to the extent of everything. And another thing: An assessment of the work of the political organs was given at those conferences, just as for an obkom or kraykom. Satisfactory or not? That was meant to get their act together, and it really did. The personal dossiers of the commander of a unit, or the deputy commander for political affairs of a unit used to be examined by a higher-ranking party body. Now they are reviewed at their own primary party organization. A third point: Responsibility has increased for each and every Communist, and especially for leading party organs,—for party committees, party bureaus and executive committees—for the way they are working. Today we need organizers; we need people of action. At the second stage of restructuring, the main thing is not just to know but to be convinced of the rightness of this cause, and, most importantly, to know how to act, to know how to work, to know how to organize people, and to know how to lead them.

[Kukholev] In discussing the restructuring in the Army and Navy, or, to be more precise, the need for it, many of our listeners propose measures of their own, such as reviewing the order whereby there is a general military duty, changing the term of active service in the direction of reducing it, allowing an officer to leave the Army at first request, having an army based on volunteer enlistment. How do you react to that?

[Lizichev] Proposals are, undoubtedly, a good thing, and one must listen to each proposal. One must take a well-considered approach, however, and one must be competent to propose particular issues. There are many proposals of all kinds now. Some people are suggesting a switch to the militia principle [militsionnyy] of providing personnel for the Army, others suggest an army based on volunteer enlistment, others still suggest that there should be territorial armies in each of the republics, and not an extraterritorial principle of recruitment, but a territorial principle for recruiting troops, as it is called. All this has already been checked out by trial and error, and in principle the best option has undoubtedly been picked: the option that exists now. I refer to the cadre [kadrovyy] system of Army recruitment. Why can we not adopt the militia principle of organizing the Army? It is a principle which involves training in military matters not in the barracks, but at the places where people reside. When this principle was regarded as the main principle, it was right. That is because at that period people had to be trained in military matters, and military matters in themselves did not embrace such a volume and range of equipment, tactics, and operational skill as applied now. For instance, let me cite the following figures. When we reached the end of the civil war, the armies of the belligerent states had 40 types of occupational specialities. Today, soldiers and sailors alone are trained in 1,500 specialities. To train people in military matters in the evenings or on Sundays, you would evidently have to get a tank and an armored personnel carrier to every street. As far as armies based on volunteer enlistment are concerned, I have also already given an example. An army based on volunteer enlistment would require enormous resources, and today we are not in a position to bear the cost that would be involved. Of course, there may come a time, but we would have to see then. At the moment, the U.S. Army alone, for example, spends around $80 billion just on its forces pay.

[Kukholev] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, our listeners ask pointed questions concerning such things as the officer's responsibility for the task entrusted to him. This is not only about making yesterday's 18-year old schoolboy or working young man a fully-fledged serviceman, but also about his moral and political upbringing, making him a serviceman worthy of the memory of those who defended our homeland in the Great Fatherland War. Indeed, you know, all kinds of old-hand bullies have appeared and had free rein. Fights among soldiers are not uncommon things; there is theft and drunkenness. It is upon the officers, and only on them, that our listeners rest their hopes, calling for a stop to be put to nonregulation relations in the Army and Navy. It is precisely on the officers that they rest their hopes.

[Lizichev] They are correct to do so, I think. For, if a man has come to us, into the Army, he has entered the ranks of the Army, our barracks; he undergoes training with us, is brought up with us and, as they say, is provided with all the essentials by us. So our people are surely correct in that the responsibility should be borne first and foremost by the officer, by the commander, the political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations. It is another matter that the negative phenomena are engendered by the negative things which exist in society, and this is inevitable. Of course, in the Army today we get people who are good in terms of their education, on the whole physically healthy, and on the whole it is good, young people who join. Nevertheless, if we compare with the past, we are getting more people with criminal records, more people who have at one time abused alcohol, more drug abusers. Evidently, we have to work better with them.

A second issue is that it is correct that we are creating an atmosphere of intolerance for these cases. In particular, treatment not in keeping with regulations is, I would say, the most repulsive phenomenon that today exists in the

Army, and even individual instances are intolerable, because they are cases which undermine the foundations of discipline in the Army, and of commanders' sole responsibility in the Army. Where these cases exist, it means both that the commander is weak, and that the party organization is weak, and that the Komsomol is not working. That is how I see it. For that reason, we, more than anyone, have work to do, but it would be better if the processes taking place in Kazan and other towns—when they are going on, and when young people make a name for themselves in ways that they shouldn't, when sadistic methods become a normal phenomenon, that, of course, is no good for our country, and no good for the Army, and for that reason,—it will be better if, for our part, we do everything we can to eliminate such cases. Such a process is in progress, not as fast, perhaps, as we would like, but it is in progress. On the other hand, it is necessary to put an end to such things on the spot, so they will no longer happen in the hostels and training colleges, in school sometimes, on the city streets sometimes, and so on. When we work together, then the results will be better.

[Kukholev] I would just like to return to the role of the officer, that is, the role of the officer in reeducating these young men who come into the Army. Evidently, the role of the officer needs to be enhanced, and it is not just his prestige that must be enhanced, but perhaps even the everyday conditions have to be created for him to live all right, so that he has good rear services to support the front. I am talking about everyday living conditions.

[Lizichev] I understand. One must bear in mind that almost—more than two-thirds—of our soldiers go through training formations, they study in training units. There they are trained by one set of officers. Then they go to other officers. They have only just become used to these officers when they go on to others. This is no simple process. On top of that, there are two call-ups a year. Just imagine, they have to prepare for this, travel, collect them, deliver them, and they only get the work started when they go off again. Thus for the officers, this vortex is natural, and they have to be prepared for it, and realize it. Second, today an officer needs greater knowledge about teaching, psychology, and interpersonal skills. You can talk about the closeness between soldier and officer being constant. They are together in the exercises, they are on duty together, and so on.

When we speak about bringing them closer we must mean, first and foremost, bringing them closer spiritually. We are now devoting a great deal of attention to this art, to this concept, both in the colleges and in academies and directly in the units. It is not a simple question. You are undoubtedly correct in saying that when we are speaking about the officer, to raise not only his professional, purely military knowledge but also his knowledge of pedagogy and of psychology, so that he can work on himself, he needs the right conditions. Unfortunately, in our country conditions are not what they should be. We have thousands of officers, unfortunately, who do not have apartments. To deal with this, we are counting without a doubt on the assistance of the local organs, on their understanding of the problems which exist and of the plans which have been determined. Probably, we must fulfill and observe the decisions adopted in this sphere. [Kukholev] Aleksey Dmitriyevich, the last question, although you have already partially answered it. Like the first one with which we began our conversation, it is related to certain fears. Do you not think that because of glasnost and the many negative aspects of Army life which have become open to the press, some conscripts, some of those who are just about to do their service, have formed some kind of prejudice against the Army? Perhaps even a fear of it, an idea of its as some kind of Moloch [god to whom children were sacrificed]. I would say? If this is so, can one fully rely on these men when they become recruits? How can they be trusted with weapons, machinery, with—in the final analysis—the frontier, military secrets? We will have to trust them. These young men will come into the Army anyway with their prejudices.

[Lizachev] Yes, I will be blunt. There is today, evidently, a kind of fashion among some people to say only bad things about the Army. Even worse, there are even instances when it is unfashionable to say anything good; it is a matter of sensationalism.

Sometimes you come across publications in which, let us be blunt, unqualified people attempt to be instructive. That is their right, undoubtedly. You need to be informed before talking about this, however. This, of course, gives rise to a certain reaction among the masses of the soldiers, to the extent of the tactlessness or to the extent of the competence with which a particular newspaper writes in its coverage of Army life. Without doubt, such an approach, such a one-sided portrayal of the Army, only through a distorting mirror, obviously leaves an impression on the mood of the lads who are getting ready to serve. Not only that, but it leaves an impression on the mood of the parents, the mothers and fathers. Indeed, one gets the impression that the Army is some kind of a Moloch, but this, of course, is not true. I can say this: that now the Army is better as far as the moral and political respects are concerned than was the case before because of the processes currently taking place. This atmosphere of being unfettered, of openness and of things being straightforward, this, in my view, only served to enhance the way people feel, and relations among people have improved dramatically. Apart from that let me tell you that issues concerned with improving the upbringing work with people have now been put in sharp focus as never before. Humane relations, the turnabout toward the individual, humane treatment of soldiers have now been brought out in full relief as never before.

However, in connection with this approach, people at times get the impression that the Army today is decadent, and this is absolutely incorrect. Ours is an army that has the fighting spirit, the Army is combat-ready. The same processes that take place in society take place within the Army and there is a great deal that is good. It is quite another matter that shortcomings do exist. At present we bring more of these to light. At present we expose them more. This will surely be of benefit. Only may it never turn out that we have intimidated our young people with the Army and with the way things are done in the Army. Besides, we have now revealed ourselves: Now we invite mothers, and everywhere, in all districts, meetings with mothers have been held. We have opened up the doors to our press everywhere: Come and have a look around. However, what is of great importance, is what you wish to gain from this.

[Kukholev] You mean taking an unprejudiced look?

[Lizichev] Yes, take an objective look. We ask for nothing more. Look at things and provide coverage of them in an objective manner. If you see something good, cover it: if you see a shortcoming, cover it. For, if you were to expose to the light of day only the black things, if you were only, as they say, to paint everything in the same, unflattering colors, that is not the way. That is not the way at all, all the more because the entire male population goes through the Army and I am confident that an absolute majority of them, the people who have done their Army service, will recall that time fondly.

Recently I have had the occasion to talk with interesting young men who have higher education. I asked them: What have you lost by joining the Army and what have you found therein, tell me, only be honest. Well, having thought for a while, no one said that joining the Army involved some sort of a loss of any kind; no one said that this was lost time.

All said that they gained something in the Army—they became real men; they acquired strength of will, learned to work, learned to subordinate themselves, found out what male collective is like, found out what Army friendship is like, and found out what unity of action is like. To put it more briefly: A great many named numerous things that were good. What were we criticized for? Yes, we were criticized, due to the fact that certain negative phenomena do, at times, take place. We were criticized for the fact that we did not do the requisite amount of shooting, or for the fact that at times we did little driving, or for the fact that such negative phenomena as breaches of conduct have also, at times, taken place. This, too, was discussed. But most of them said that they had gained something. This made me happy, to tell the truth.

[Kukholev] Thank you very much.